OUR ATTITUDE

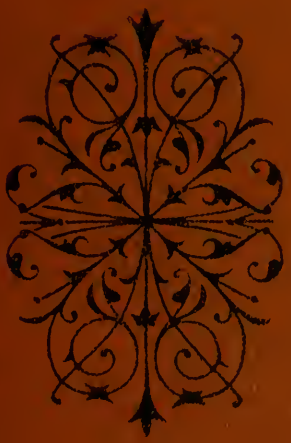
TOWARDS

ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS

AND

THE PAPAL COURT

ARTHUR GALTON, M.A.



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ENGLISH ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND THE PAPAL COURT.

BY

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TO

EDWARD PECHE STOCK,

RECTOR OF WINDERMERE;

BY

WHOSE WORDS AND LIFE

THE GENTLE AND GRAVE TRADITIONS

OF OUR FATHERS IN DIVINITY

ARE STILL CONTINUED AMONG US;

FROM

THE AUTHOR:

WITH GRATITUDE, AND GREAT AFFECTION.

PREFACE.

THE following pages give, so far as it is possible in the space allowed, an account of the relations between England and the Papacy, from the seventh century until our own time. The purpose of this volume is to show what the attitude of a patriotic Englishman should be towards his Roman Catholic fellow citizens, and the rulers of their Church. He cannot form a just or sound opinion in this matter without some knowledge of the past. I have tried to give him that knowledge concisely and clearly. I have tried, still more, to give it fairly. It has been my endeavour to record facts, and to let them speak for themselves. The result, it must be owned, is not favourable to the origin, the development, the principles, the methods, or the consequences of the papal system and authority; but, if any one is to be condemned for that result, it must be the makers of the history recorded, and not the historian who has merely presented the evidence, as he finds it, to the best of his knowledge and ability. Definite opinions are not necessarily prejudiced. Opinions may be strong without bias, if the facts upon which they rest will support the deductions that

are made from them. I bear witness gladly to the amount of active and practical good which is always being done, in abundant measure, by adherents of the papal Church in England. Some of the best people I have ever known belong to that Church. Many of my dearest friends are Roman Catholics. These facts and opinions, however, do not prevent me from thinking that my friends hold a theology which has no valid basis in Scripture or in history: nor do the personal excellences of Roman Catholics, both as Christians and as English citizens, blind me to the political, social, and intellectual dangers, as I regard them, of the papal hierarchy and organization.

So, too, in the past, I distinguish clearly between English Romanists and their ecclesiastical superiors in Italy. The latter, as I think, have been persistent and dangerous enemies to England, as well as treacherous and cruel advisers to their own subjects. The former have an heroic and a loyal record, of which every Englishman may be proud, and for which all of us are the better. I regard that distinction as the key-note of my volume. It has always been present to me as I wrote. I wish to bring it clearly before my readers from the beginning. I have written, too, only as a student of our political and constitutional history. My volume is not meant to be a theological treatise. I have avoided, so far as it was possible, all reference to merely theological and sectarian disputes. My one object has been to examine the various relations between England and the Papacy, and to exhibit the

attitude of the Papacy towards the natural growth of our principles and institutions.

I may add, that I speak with the experience of one who has known English Romanism from within; who accepted the papal claims in his youth, but who was compelled to reject them by fuller and more accurate information. My experience of English Romanists leads me to those same conclusions which I have gathered from historical investigation. I admire and honour individual English Romanists: I abhor that foreign and mundane organization which, as I think, deceives them by religious pretexts and professions.

My special gratitude is due to one who appears to think very much as I do about history, but who finds himself able to remain in a theological position which I was forced by honour and honesty to repudiate. My reference is to Father Taunton, whose admirable "History of the Jesuits in England" I have used so frequently and freely. He has collected a vast mass of scattered materials, with immense industry: he has used them, as I think, with consummate skill, and with an even more commendable accuracy and fairness. His work is a much needed contribution to English history, and should win him a conspicuous place among our leading historians. He has increased my gratitude to himself, since this volume went through the press, by his excellent biography of Wolsey. Seeing that he writes professedly as an Anglo-Roman ecclesiastic, I must draw attention to the significance and value of his conclusions. If my own position, action, and opinions

be challenged, as unduly personal or prejudiced, I may point to the conclusions of a learned and impartial Roman ecclesiastic; which, with regard to many of the most important events and personages mentioned in this volume, are similar to those I now lay before my readers.

The Palace, Ripon;
Christmas, 1901.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

WE have to consider in this volume the relations which ought to prevail now between educated Englishmen, who do not recognise the Pope's authority, and Englishmen who do. Besides this, we have to explain the attitude which patriotic Englishmen, who know the history of our country, who understand and value our institutions, must adopt towards the methods, aims, and spirit of the Roman Court; for the distinction between Roman Catholics and the papal Curia should never be forgotten. To put the case in another way, what should be the attitude of unprejudiced and Christian Englishmen, who are not Romanists, towards their Roman Catholic fellow subjects, as well as towards that political and centralized organization which claims the obedience of all Romanists in the name of their belief?

The answers to these questions are the subject of the present volume; and satisfying answers to them can only be given by an unbiassed examination of the past. We must see what the various relations between England and the Papacy have been, since they came first into contact with one another. We must show what effects the Papacy had upon our Church

and nation, when its authority among us was greatest. We must examine and explain the causes which produced the gradual changes in our relationship to the Court of Rome, leading up to the subjection of our monarchy and almost of our nation, but ending finally in a complete official severance of all connexion, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Then we must expose the consequences of that severance, and the attitude assumed by Rome in its efforts to regain the abused and forfeited supremacy. We must also consider the necessity of self-protection which was forced upon our own Government by the warlike diplomacy and acts of the papal Curia.

When we have sifted and pondered all the elements in a very long and complex problem, we shall be more likely to form a juster estimate of what our attitude to the Roman system should be at present; and, though we cannot unroll the future in detail, we may at least acquire from examining the past some general principles for our guidance as we look forward into the unknown.

CHAPTER II.

The Patriarchates.

TO understand the Papacy, we must examine the various organizations and polities of that which usurps the name of historical Christianity, as they have risen, and developed, and declined, and fallen, in successive ages, under the influence of different modes of thought and of environment. The primary documents in that enquiry are, of course, the books of the New Testament; but they serve to show more generally how far organized Christianity has wandered from its primitive and simpler standards, rather than to justify the various organizations and polities by which Christianity has been tainted and encumbered. These books appear to tell us that "the Church of Christ received from the Divine Founder no rigid and detailed constitution. Neither the faith, nor the government, nor the discipline of the Christian society were (*sic*) defined in advance."* In other words, the Founder of Christianity and his immediate followers confined themselves to broad statements of principle. They seem to have left us an almost boundless freedom of application and of detail. A living faith was put into a world of living men, and

* Canon Henson: "Apostolic Christianity."

they were intended to apply it to their various and changing needs.

When we pass from the books of the New Testament to the writings of the sub-Apostolic and of the following ages, we are on very different ground, and in a still more dubious atmosphere. Between the New Testament and the earliest Church histories there yawns a great gulf, which we cannot either illuminate or bridge. We can only traverse it as through a tunnel, in the dark. The clerical historians are far from satisfactory. There are many statements in them which do not seem to be borne out by facts that we meet with elsewhere. Theological disputes, the acts of martyrs, the persecutions, the alleged triumph of ecclesiastical Christianity, the sudden collapse of official paganism, and the miraculous conversion of the Imperial Government, are all matters which we cannot accept from the ecclesiastical records without a great deal of hesitation and reserve. We are obliged to admit the existing accounts as a working hypothesis, simply because we have no others; but we should not build our religion upon these foundations of sand, or the whole of our structure may fall to ruin before the winds and floods of critical and scientific history. Christian thought and institutions are to be connected with the New Testament by records and studies which are very different from those supplied to us by the ecclesiastical historians.

We may, however, put all these deeper questions on one side. We are not concerned here with the origins of Christianity, but only with the current ecclesiastical accounts of it. Our present enquiry, therefore, may begin at

the period of the great councils and the Nicene Creed, in the fourth century. At that time, the highest ecclesiastical government of the Church had become vested in four or five Patriarchs: of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Rome, of Alexandria, of Constantinople; though the word Patriarch does not seem to have acquired a fixed and technical meaning until much later. These five ecclesiastics were all equal in rank, and they had co-ordinate powers. Each of them, within his own district and in his own affairs, was independent of all the others; and his authority within those limits was narrowed still more by the canonical freedom and jurisdiction of every bishop, as well as by those rights of popular election and of congregational action which still existed.

The ecclesiastical organization of the Church may be described, loosely, as a confederation of almost independent Patriarchates. The only authorities to which they all submitted were the supremacy of the Emperor, and the unanimous decisions of the whole Church in council. As Rome had been the cradle and metropolis of the Empire, the bishop of Rome naturally took precedence of the other Patriarchs; but he had no authority over any of them, nor over any of their people and concerns. All persons, clerical and secular, acknowledged the legislative and executive supremacy of the Emperor, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The civil power was held, in the Apostolic phrase, to be "ordained of God," and therefore to be spiritual, to have a religious jurisdiction.

Neither in the ecclesiastical nor in the civil sphere, during the first ages of the alliance

between Church and State, was there any notion of those claims which were made afterwards, and are made still, by the Roman bishops. The terms "ecclesiastical" and "spiritual" had not then been confused, to the great damage of the Church, and in defiance of New Testament Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

The Roman Patriarch.

THE next stage in ecclesiastical affairs was brought about by the decay of the Roman power in the West, through the invasion and victories of the Barbarians, and by the Mahometan conquests in the East. By the latter, Grecian Christianity was almost blotted out. It persisted only in a diminishing area round Constantinople, until that place was conquered by the Turks in 1453; but the Churches and Patriarchs of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Alexandria, disappeared. Through ecclesiastical rivalry and political necessities, the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople were more and more estranged from one another, and finally all communication between them was broken off. The old Patriarchal confederation was thus destroyed; and, in place of it, we find the remnants of the Church divided sharply into East and West, each part regarding the other as heretical and hardly Christian.

We must now, unfortunately, put aside the whole Greek Church from our consideration. The Greek language; the original New Testament; the Greek Fathers, with their broad and philosophical notions of Scripture and theology; the old worship and constitution of the Church; above all, the flexibility and fecundity

of the Greek spirit, were banished out of western Europe for more than a thousand years. Indeed, they have not yet come back into western Christianity, whether papal or reformed; nor can they return until clergy and laity both escape from the hard and narrow bondage of Augustine.

At the beginning of the middle ages, all true knowledge of Christian thought and literature and antiquity was blurred. The remembrance of the old Patriarchal constitution was forgotten. The cruel and crafty legal spirit of pagan Rome, hardened and narrowed still more by the Augustinian theology, was left face to face with the ignorance and ferocity of the Barbarian masters of the Empire. Out of these unspiritual and unenlightened elements mediæval ecclesiasticism was evolved. On these worldly foundations the mediæval Papacy was built. Italy and all the western provinces fell into confusion. They were a prey to ignorance and violence. The only survival of the ancient order and civilization who remained was the Roman bishop, and he soon began to undertake civil responsibilities, though always in dependence on the Emperor or on his nominal representatives.

That, which began as a duty, soon became a pleasure and a source of profit, then an object of ambition, of intrigue, or of battle, and at last a divine right. The bishops of Rome were gradually immersed in temporal concerns, and soiled by the cares of government. They had no time for theology; and, for nine hundred years, "not a single work of any importance" was composed in Rome.* Twenty-four papal

* Döllinger: "Chapters of European History."

wars may be enumerated in the earlier middle ages, and the Papacy was bought oftener than it was battled for. The old severity of penance was commuted into money payments; and, by the ninth century, the whole system of papal administration had assumed that financial character to which it has always clung.

Nevertheless, much good was done by the bishops of Rome in the early middle ages, and especially by Gregory the First, the best of the whole succession. In him, the bishop was not forgotten in the magistrate. He made no claim to sovereign power or to papal prerogatives and attributes, as they were developed later. Indeed, he repudiated the title of "Universal Patriarch," and rebuked his rival at Constantinople for aiming at it. He was a pastor, and not a diplomatist. His desire was not for temporal power or for ecclesiastical supremacy, but for souls and missions. The modern world owes much to him; and we in England are, in a special way, his debtors.

To no single body of men does modern Europe owe so much as to Gregory's missioners, the Benedictines. They were the great civilizers and teachers of those dark and violent ages, when modern society was being schooled. Through the good work of the Benedictines, but also through the prevailing ignorance and darkness, the Latin Patriarchs, by causes which were not solely ecclesiastical, obtained a growing influence over the young nations and Churches of the West. It was that influence which even a low civilization must obtain over a lower, the rudest law over an absence of any law, a mother Church over her missionary colonies. By these means, and through these causes, the Latin

Patriarchs were able to lay the foundations of the mediæval Papacy. The ecclesiastical courtesies of these ages became the customs of the next; these customs, in their turn, grew into pious and necessary laws, and then were enforced as rights or divine prerogatives of the Apostolic See.

CHAPTER IV.

British and English Christianity.

WE may now turn to the affairs of our own country. We do not know how or when Christianity was brought here. The Celtic tribes, however, possessed a form of it which had come to them at some immemorial time, in some unrecorded way. In Ireland and in Brittany, the Celtic Churches seem to have been organized on a tribal or a clannish basis. The monastery, and not the diocese, appears to have been the instrument of organization: the abbot, and not the bishop, was the spring of energy and growth. "There were no bishops," M. Renan declares, among the refugees from Britain, who fled into Armorica before the Scandinavian invaders: "the authority of Rome, and the religious institutions which prevailed in the Latin world, were wholly unknown in these regions, which were isolated from the remainder of Christendom."*

In all these matters, we are in a region of uncertainty and of conjecture. There were, however, significant and suggestive differences of organization and of practice, if not of belief, between the Christianity of the more independent Celts, and the Christianity of Romanized

* Renan: "Souvenirs d'Enfance."

Gaul and of the less Romanized Britain. The current theory, that bishops were kept on the abbots' premises, in a dependent state, merely to convey Orders, is too ridiculous and incredible an explanation to be taken seriously. It could only have been devised after the later mediæval theories of the Papacy, of Episcopacy, and of Orders had become generally established. Celtic Christianity, or at any rate the Celtic Church, so far as eastern and southern Britain are concerned, was utterly destroyed by the Scandinavian invaders and conquerors of the fifth century. So complete was the destruction, or so slight was the Christianity of Britain, that hardly a single archæological fragment belonging to the period of Roman occupation, and beyond all doubt of Christian origin, has yet been discovered in England.

On all sides, the question of primitive Christianity in Britain is enveloped in mysteries ; and the only records left are documents whose parentage and treatment are liable to grave suspicion. The passing of Druidism into Christianity is a suggestive and an interesting problem, which we have no present means of solving.

From the old Celtic sources, however, Christianity appears to have spread again, after the Frankish invasions, into Holland, and Germany, and Switzerland, and to have penetrated even to the Scandinavian homes of Thor and Odin. Irish and British missionaries were zealous and successful in these labours. The more Romanized Celts of Gaul kept their religion, such as it was, and gave it to their conquerors, by whom it was changed materially in form and spirit.

In Britain, the Scandinavians of the north-

east and the settlers in Mercia were converted from Scotland. The West; that is, Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, and Strathclyde; had remained nominally Christian, if we may believe the ecclesiastical historians. The conquerors of south-eastern England were gained over by missionaries from Gaul and Italy. These three elements or sources of Christianity; the old British or Welsh, the Irish or Scotch, the French and Italian; were a long while settling down into one organized and united Church.

It is going much too far to say that England owes its Christianity and Church to Rome. It is defying history and law to say that the English Church was from the beginning, or should be now, a dependency of Rome. The Italian preachers, who came to us under Augustine in 597, were indeed sent by Gregory the First; but, as soon as Augustine had been made a bishop in Gaul, he and his suffragans became the constitutional heads of independent Churches, subject only to the prevailing canons and laws of Christendom. Those laws, in the seventh century, knew nothing of the papal organization, as it was developed in the feudal and later middle ages. They knew still less of modern papal attributes and claims. Even judged by the laws and customs of the seventh century, the Churches of the English Peoples were not subjected in any special way to the Roman bishop, merely because some of their dioceses were founded or restored by missionaries who had come from Italy. In our own days, many missionaries are sent out from England. As long as they are pioneers, they depend on the mother country. When they are successful and strong enough to be organized into dioceses, they gain all the

rights and freedom of their position. So it was, too, thirteen centuries ago.

Ever since then, the Churches of the English Peoples have had an unbroken corporate and constitutional existence. The various elements of Scottish, British, and English Christianity came to a working agreement among themselves at the conference of Whitby, in 664; and, a few years later, under Archbishop Theodore, they were consolidated and organized into a single Church. During the four centuries between 668 and the Norman Conquest in 1066, the English Church went on its own way, quietly, undergoing little change, preserving its original character and habits. There was much personal devotion to the relics and shrines of Rome; and this devotion was utilized to enlarge the papal influence and revenues. Contributions and endowments for the use of English pilgrims, oblations and gifts made to the Roman sanctuaries, were diverted by the Romans, and were finally demanded by the Popes as a tribute, under the name of Peter's Pence. The official and ecclesiastical connexion with Rome was much less than any modern Papist cares to realize, and was much more than some timid and superficial Anglicans venture to admit. The bishop of Rome claimed, and, so far as he could, exercised, by illegally extending, the constitutional powers of his Patriarchate. He called himself, improperly, the Patriarch of the West, or the Latin Patriarch; although, in strict law, his patriarchal powers had not been granted to him over the whole of Italy. His patriarchal claims, like his papal claims afterwards, were really an unhistorical, an arbitrary, and a lawless usurpation. In the seventh century,

however, the bishop of Rome had not transformed his Patriarchate out of all recognition, though he had extended his authority beyond its legal bounds.

Papal powers and jurisdiction, in the modern, and even in the later mediæval sense, were unknown in England during the four centuries we are considering. Thanks to our distance from Italy, and to our estranging sea, papal encroachments, both against the civil power and the freedom of national churches, were developed in Gaul and Germany long before they obtained a footing here. The English Sovereigns before the Conquest exercised the Royal Supremacy, very much as the early Christian Emperors had, and as the term was understood again among ourselves in the sixteenth century. Even so late and timid a sovereign as Edward the Confessor did not hesitate to use the title, "Vicar of the Most High King." Bishops might be appointed without any reference to the Pope. Matters of discipline, re-arrangements of dioceses, liturgies and rubrics, appear to have been settled by councils of the English Church; saving always the Supremacy of the Crown, by which alone any ecclesiastical decisions acquired the force of law. The clergy were national in feeling, and had not yet become a privileged and sacerdotal caste. In spite of periodical agitations by innovators and so-called reformers, it would seem that the parochial clergy were generally married, as, too, in many cases, were canons and members of collegiate bodies. At any rate, marriage was open to all the clergy who had not taken monastic vows. We find the King, the nobles, and the bishops consulting and legislating about doctrine and discipline. Matters of worship, of

discipline, of organization were entirely in the hands of the national authorities, subject only to the supreme authority of Scripture and the creeds. The interference or advice of Rome was sometimes asked; it was never admitted unasked, and it was ignored at least as often as it was accepted. There were no separate or special courts for ecclesiastical persons and affairs. The Bishop sat in the royal or provincial courts by the Sheriff and the Earl. The clergy, individually and collectively, were subject to the laws and customs of the realm; they were subjected without any privileges or reservations to the King's authority. The Kings themselves used the title of *Imperator*, and sometimes of *βασιλεύς*, to prove their complete independence of any and every foreign power; as well as to assert their lordship over out-lying and vassal states, and to mark their supremacy over all persons and causes within their imperial dominion.

The point to seize and keep hold of is that the English Peoples were brought into the Catholic Church while the bishop of Rome was still a Patriarch, and was not yet a Pope in the later mediæval and feudal sense. Our polity in Church and State, before the Norman Conquest, was modelled according to those notions which had prevailed throughout western Christendom in the sixth and seventh centuries. Between those ages and the eleventh century, the old Roman Patriarchate had developed into the mediæval papacy, and was fast becoming a feudal organization, whose chiefs not only claimed temporal dominions and authority, but went on to challenge the supremacy of all sovereigns and the integrity of the civil power.

For the reasons indicated, England before the Conquest stood outside these developments. In the middle of the eleventh century, it was still living ecclesiastically in the notions and according to the Church order of the seventh. It had been affected very little by those ecclesiastical and social developments which were being evolved on the Continent, and which were transforming the whole fabric of society. These changes in political and social affairs no doubt were good, both in themselves and in their results. In ecclesiastical affairs, too, their intention was good, but their effects on the whole were corrupting and disastrous. Moreover, they prevailed everywhere in western Europe from the eleventh century until the sixteenth. They were then expelled out of some countries by a destructive and revolutionary process; and they were re-imposed upon some churches through a more centralized, tyrannical, anti-national, and mischievous organization. England alone was able to resist both revolution and reaction, by a conservative, a constructive, and a constitutional procedure. Our Church was not swept away into ecclesiastical anarchy; our monarchy was not allowed to become despotic. The Church was able to keep herself from anarchy and revolution without succumbing to the papal autocracy; and, by the same constitutional and historic methods, the country was able to escape the nearer peril of a royal absolutism. The Church returned to the sounder and freer model of the seventh century; and, upon that secure foundation, we have constructed something better. Our English polity thus bears witness against the encroachments of the papacy in Church and State. This is the value and the

strength, historically and theologically, of our Anglican position. To maintain and to hand on this great inheritance of order and of liberty is the duty, the singular privilege, of our Church and Commonwealth.

We have now to describe how the continuity and full exercise of our inheritance were invaded, imperilled, and for a time impeded, though never wholly abolished either in fact or theory.

CHAPTER V.

The Foundations of the Papal Legend.

IN theory, the Church is often compared to a rock, immovable and changeless in a fluctuating world. This comparison may be true of the broad principles of Christ's religion. It is not true of those human organizations which have too often annexed or exploited Christianity, and been mistaken for it. In fact, the Church, as a theological and political organization, has always more resembled a chameleon than a rock, by invariably, successively, and slavishly reflecting its environments:

> "The thin chameleon, *fed with air*, receives
> The colour of the thing to which he cleaves."

Indeed, the Church has gone beyond the chameleon in the past, and has taken not only the colours, but the forms of the various polities and institutions which have surrounded it. The patriarchal constitution of the Church, in the fourth century, reflects the Imperial administration when Christianity entered officially into the fabric of the Empire. The patriarchs, the metropolitans, the archbishops, the provinces, the dioceses, the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy and organization, were parallel to the civil and magisterial administration of the Emperors. In earlier ages, too, when the position, experiences,

and opportunities of the Christians were more suited to their origin and social rank, as well as to their genuine spirit, the functions and titles of their ministry are all found in the Synagogues or in the charitable Clubs and Brotherhoods of the Greek and Roman working classes. So, too, again, when the Roman Empire and civilization gave way to the Barbarians, and society was re-constituted upon a military basis, we find the Church gradually assuming that feudal aspect and organization upon which the new governments and societies were modelled by the necessities of a rude and violent age.

The spiritual power of the Papacy is founded, ultimately and solely, upon the words in the Gospel attributed to Matthew, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." The connection between Peter and the Papacy, which is not obvious in the words themselves, is worked out thus. There is a tradition that Peter was crucified at Rome in the time of Nero. This tradition grew into the legend that he was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, and that he handed on all his prerogatives, as "Prince of the Apostles," to his successors in the bishoprick. This legend cannot be made to fit in with the meagre facts which are recorded, or with any practical scheme of dates. There were probably no bishops, in the current meaning of the term, during the first century. Certainly there were no territorial bishops until much later. As to the words in "Matthew," not one of those early and grave authorities, whom we call the Fathers, interpreted that text in the modern papal sense; and they are the only reliable witnesses for the belief of their own times. Not only with regard to this text, but in treating the

whole range of Scripture, theology, and Church affairs, they are ignorant of the Roman claims and of the prerogatives of Peter.

The famous passage in Irenæus, unless it be mis-translated, is against the theological claims of the Roman See, though it bears witness to the political supremacy of the Imperial Metropolis. Irenæus does not say, as the Papists urge, that all Churches *must agree* with Rome. He does say that every Church; that is, the Christians from the whole Roman world; *must resort* incessantly (*convenire*) to the capital: and by this concourse, or circulation from all sides, the apostolic faith and teaching may be tested at the centre. In other words, the prevailing and universal faith of Christendom, *quod ubique quod ab omnibus*, might then be tested most conveniently and certainly in Rome, because all Churches corresponded with or resorted to the capital of the Empire. Rome was not to teach them, as in the papal theory. They were to keep Rome from everything contradictory and strange. By reversing this process, the papal doctrines have become what they are; and Rome, instead of being corrected by the Churches, has corrupted and then dominated every Church in her communion.

Augustine alone of the great Fathers ever applied the term "this rock," as the foundation of the Church, to Peter; but he himself corrected what he judged to be an immature and a wrong conclusion, and he held finally that the "rock" was Christ. The papal theory and application of this text were unknown in the fourth century. Scripture, the Fathers, Church history, Church organization, are all against them and all exclude them. Even the con-

tinuance and violence of controversy, and the difficulties in settling it, show that this means of settlement had not been thought of in that stormy period.

To Peter obviously, according to the narrative in "Matthew," belongs the advantage of first acknowledging the Messiahship of Christ. That personal primacy and privilege cannot be denied him, or given to another. His reward is the gift of the symbolical keys; which, we must remember, were given to all rabbis or teachers when they were qualified officially to teach. Peter was thus qualified and commissioned first to teach that belief which had been shown him. The same commission was given later to those who were qualified later; and so the process has continued through the centuries. The Messiahship of Christ, and all that may be involved in it, was the foundation of the Messianic Society or Kingdom. This was the large and living rock, or Πέτρα, on which it was to stand secure, and by which it was to inherit the apocalyptic promises. Simon was the Πέτρος, or fragment of rock, a stone in the figurative building; and, with regard to time and person, the first stone. The Greek words bear this interpretation, but they will not bear any interpretation which ignores the distinction between Πέτρα and Πέτρος, or which reverses the natural meaning of the phrase by making the more important word subordinate to the less.

Besides, in the text, whatever may be said of Peter, nothing is said of any successors to him; and, if anything that is written in this passage be applied to a succession of men, we must be critical in our methods and complete in our application. We must not pick and choose

arbitrarily to suit a theory. We must apply the whole passage to Peter's successors as well as to himself. We must not remember the 18th verse of "Matthew's" chapter, when we think of the Popes, and forget the 23rd, in which our Lord said also to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan: thou art an offence to me; thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." If the former of "Matthew's" verses may be applied to the Papacy, then the other must; and this verse applies with destructive and stinging accuracy to a large number of the two hundred-and-fifty-seven Popes, as well as to the spirit, methods, and policy of the Roman Court throughout its history.

The whole papal interpretation of this text is based on a tradition which is as unhistorical as the "Donation of Constantine," or the romance of the Three Kings of Cologne, or the voyage of Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury. It has no more weight in serious theology than any other mediæval legend has in sober history. It is, however, the sole foundation of the papal system. All the arguments for and against the papal authority, for and against every innovation which depends on it, come back at last to this one text; which was misunderstood by the mediæval theologians, in their ignorance of Greek and of antiquity; which has to be strained and manipulated by the Ultramontanes.

The temporal power of the Popes, and their invasions of the Imperial supremacy, are based upon another fiction which could only have been made use of in a time of ignorance and credulity. By the "Donation of Constantine," as the legend calls it, that Emperor, when he was baptized in Rome, left his capital to the

Popes and founded another at Constantinople. In most legends there is a kernel of truth, and there is in this. Constantine did found a new capital, but not for the Popes' convenience and advantage. He was not baptized until long after his mythical "conversion"; and, apparently, the Popes were ignorant of his bequest for more than three centuries. This fiction, however, enforced by many wars, by systematic and scandalous diplomacy, and fortified by some legacies of territory, which were probably all void in feudal law, is the sole origin of the Popes' temporal power and of their sovereignty over the Papal States.

The supremacy and importance of the old capital; the notion of Peter's supremacy, of the prerogatives conveyed to him by the words in "Matthew," the legend of his bishoprick in Rome, and of the inheritance of his imaginary prerogatives by succeeding bishops; the romance of "Constantine's Donation"; the real possession of delegated civil power, the gradual acquisition of territorial possessions and of independence; the separation from Constantinople, the disappearance of the other Patriarchs, and the isolated importance of the bishops of Rome; all these elements combined in evolving the mediæval Papacy out of the old Roman Patriarchate. The notion of Peter's prerogatives, and of the Roman bishops being his heirs, took a theoretical and recorded shape under Leo I. (440-461). The Leonine school manipulated and extended these visionary claims. It was a long while, however, before they became effective and practical. Gregory I. (590-604) repudiated the notion of an universal patriarch, saying, truly, that it would destroy the episcopate. Leo III.

(795-816) acknowledged the supremacy of his master and sovereign, the Emperor Charlemagne.

Nicholas I. (858-867) may perhaps be considered as the founder of the mediæval Papacy; and the Popes were able to extend their influence during the century and a quarter of weakness and confusion which prevailed between Charles the Great and Otho the First. During those long ages of darkness and of civil discord, the bishops of Rome were enabled, through the Petrine or papal fictions, to rebel against their sovereigns the Emperors, to annex parts of their territory, to challenge their sovereignty and the independence of the civil power, and finally to usurp the old Imperial supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. Fortified by their new temporal position, and still extending their papal claims, they went on to diminish the freedom of other bishops, to annex many of their old prerogatives, and to threaten the independence of all the national Churches.

Although the Popes no longer had any rival Patriarchs, their former peers, to check their ambitions and innovations, there was still some remembrance of liberty and of ancient law among the national Churches, ignorant as they had become of antiquity and of the older constitution. To bear down this opposition, other fictions were devised; and a series of forgeries, though manufactured for a very different purpose, was adopted and used for the advantage of the Papacy. Archives were discovered in Rome, as they were needed, asserting the new papal authority against all the former laws and customs of the Churches. Canons and Acts of early Councils were forged or tampered with for

the same purpose, and by the same unscrupulous methods. Letters of early Popes were fabricated to bear out these spurious laws and canons. Passages of the Fathers were invented, and interpolated into their authentic writings. In other cases, by manipulations of the text, and by still bolder omissions, passages which were wholly opposed to the papal claims and innovations were made to witness in their favour.

These various documents, which were known finally as the "Forged Decretals," began to be circulated about the middle of the ninth century. They had become accepted and authoritative about the middle of the tenth. A century later, they were woven into the canon law, and were held to be an essential part of the ecclesiastical fabric. These forgeries were so clumsy and unscholarly that, when learning revived, their origin was soon discovered: thus, in the end, they defeated their own purpose, and, instead of helping Rome, they are a clear witness to the aggressions made by it upon the old rights and freedom of the national Churches. They help to mark the stages in the papal usurpation.

The defence made for the false Decretals is that, if the papal claims had not had some real foundation, these forgeries would never have been able to succeed. This argument does not meet the facts. Every one of the papal claims has been resisted at some time or in some place, but the resistance was never organized and systematic. The conservative churchmen never united against the innovator. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities never combined against the usurper. The advantage was always with the centralizing power, which was able to utilize defeats and even enemies for its ultimate

advantage. The lower clergy were made use of to curtail the ancient constitutional authority of bishops. The grievances and appeals of bishops were utilized to humble the metropolitans. The exemptions of the monasteries were utilized to weaken and impoverish the diocesan organization; as, later, the privileges of the Friars damaged the parochial morality, discipline, and revenues. Kings and churchmen were played one against the other, to the lowering of both. The quarrels of nations and sovereigns were turned to the advantage of the Papacy.

In all this, there must have been some deliberate misdoing; but the process is only another instance of natural development, by an organized and a centralizing power. The error is in justifying this development, by attributing it to supernatural or divine authority. The Papacy, no doubt, like all centralizing powers, would have developed its authority, and to a large extent, without the "Forged Decretals." Nevertheless, these outrageous frauds, and the ignorance which alone made them successful, contributed very largely to build up the feudal Papacy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

We may now record a few of the more important stages in the development of the mediæval and feudal Papacy. In 680, Pope Agatho, notwithstanding the denunciations and repudiation of Gregory I., assumed the title of "Universal Patriarch." In 752, Pope Zachary began to send out legates, thus asserting his authority over other bishops. In 840, the false Decretals were published. Twenty years later, they were used by Nicholas I. to challenge and lessen the old authority of archbishops.

In 1050, celibacy was imposed by law upon all

persons in holy orders: a scandalous infringement of ancient liberty. In the same year, Interdicts began; and they were a still graver invasion of the liberties and rights of laymen. In 1061, Alexander II. claimed the right of confirming the appointment of all bishops; that is, he asserted a right of veto on all appointments. In 1059, the election of Popes, which had been the act of the Roman people, was usurped by the Cardinals; and by 1100 the laity were excluded from choosing any bishop. The old popular and democratic nature of the Church was thus destroyed, and it was narrowed into a clerical and an hierarchical institution. In 1066, monasteries began to be exempted from episcopal visitation and control. This was a heavy blow to the episcopate; and it not only added enormously to the wealth and patronage of the Popes, but it gave them powerful adherents in every diocese and kingdom.

In 1073, Gregory VII. began to reign. He had long ruled, and he established all the new prerogatives claimed by the Roman Court. His life was an unceasing battle with the civil power. His pretext was the investiture of the clergy, by laymen, with the temporalities of their benefices. In reality, he deprived the Emperors of their old supremacy over the Church; and he secured for the Popes their independent sovereignty over the papal states, as well as their superiority over all other sovereigns. In effect, he turned the mediæval Papacy into a rigid feudal organization, of which the Pope was not only the ecclesiastical chief, but he claimed to be the temporal lord, so far as Church property and clerical persons were concerned. The clergy were thus separated in feeling and interest from the laity.

They were made into a caste, with laws and privileges of their own. Before long, the secular tribunals were forbidden to deal with ecclesiastics; and the Popes went on to claim the rights of taxation, of patronage, and of appellate jurisdiction.

CHAPTER VI.

The Norman and Papal Conquest of England.

THE Norman adventurers in Italy had done much to establish the temporal power of the Popes. In Normandy, they had been zealous for those reforms which, as an ironical and indirect consequence, had extended the papal authority. From all the developments and reforms which have been mentioned, England stood aloof. Our stolid conservatism was very offensive to the advancing Papacy, and was indeed a standing protest against its usurpations. Accordingly, the plan of conquering England through the Normans was welcomed eagerly by the Roman Court. The Pope blessed and encouraged William's expedition. If the term Crusade had been invented, it would have been applied to the invasion of England. It was, in fact, a papal crusade against our spiritual liberties, as well as a Norman attack upon our national independence. The effect of it was to place our government, both in Church and State, in the hands of foreigners.

Such culture as we had among us was foreign, and not English, for nearly three centuries. The Church, the great instrument of culture, which touched the national life and thought at every point, was even more affected than the

State by this amazing revolution. The rulers of the Church, the bishops and abbots, were almost invariably foreign. The old religious orders were reformed by Norman and alien superiors. New orders came into the island, bringing with them foreign methods and foreign thought. The English clergy lost, to a large extent, their national feeling; and also, we must own, their insularity. They became, more fully than before, members of an international organization.

There were, however, compensations as well as losses in these changes. The political and intellectual gain to us was, in the end, great. The chief loss was in the growth of clericalism and the decline of religion. The clergy became more separated from the laity, more of a caste. This change was shown outwardly in the new constitution of the law courts, in which the higher clergy no longer sat as judges. The bishops had courts of their own for ecclesiastical affairs. This alteration was not made by the Pope, but by the King.

William I. clung tenaciously to all the rights of his predecessors. He exercised the Royal Supremacy as they had. He refused to innovate, to relinquish any of the old prerogatives, or to recognize any of the new papal claims. He refused to swear fealty to the Pope, or to pay any tax which had not been customary, or to allow any change in the relations between the Crown and the Papacy. The Conqueror and his sons maintained the old rights of the Church and Nation, and handed them on unimpaired in form.

The foreign and innovating spirit of the clergy was, however, irresistible. There were serious quarrels between the Crown and the

papal clergy under Rufus and Henry I.; and, in the anarchy of Stephen, the position of the churchmen was materially strengthened. The final battle was fought under Henry II. That great sovereign contended for law and justice. He wished to make all men equal before the law and amenable to justice. The clergy, led by Becket, resisted him. Through the accident of Becket's murder, their resistance was successful. Henry was clearly in the right, so far as principles are concerned. The immunities which Becket claimed were unknown here before the Conquest; they were also incompatible with justice, and the rights of the civil power. The Constitutions of Clarendon represented the old freedom and practice of the national Church. As usual, the Papacy was the innovator, and the English King stood out for the older rights and constitution of the Church. Becket's arguments were founded upon a mere quibble; his principles led to injustice and corruption. They contributed, more perhaps than any other single cause, to make the Reformation both inevitable and anti-clerical.

The principles of Henry II. are approved and practised now in every civilized country, without any danger to religion or any injustice to the clergy. The immediate victory of Becket has proved that nothing is more disastrous for a State, and still more for a Church, than a clergy which considers itself above and outside the common law, or separate in any way from the general interests and life of the community.

From the clerical victory over Henry II.; that is, from about 1170; we may date the more complete subjection of the Anglican hierarchy to the See of Rome. From that date, the papal

canon law and the papal theology were current and unquestioned here, as in the other Churches and kingdoms of the West. The nation, however, as distinguished from the hierarchy, never lost the memory of its ancient freedom. It never accepted the papal usurpations without protest. Its protests are marked clearly in the statutes of the realm; and the scandalous mis-use of authority by the Roman Court, its continual aggressions and encroachments, its greed and its venality, its abuse of patronage, and its opposition to all reform, are borne witness to during the three-and-a-half centuries in which the papal jurisdiction was imposed upon the English clergy.

The necessities of Richard I. and the recklessness of John increased the Pope's authority in England. John, among his many blunders, quarrelled with the Pope; and then, to secure peace, as well as to gain a protector, he made himself a vassal of Innocent III., and his kingdom into a fief of the Papal States. He had no legal and constitutional right or powers to do either. Innocent, instead of rebuking John for violating his coronation oath, accepted the illegal donation, with the homage and a tribute. As this tribute was claimed until long afterwards, with arrears, John's illegal proceedings were taken seriously by Rome, and claims to suzerainty were founded on them. Innocent always took the part of John against the English People and their liberties. He condemned Magna Charta as wrong in itself, and as a rebellion against his own feudal supremacy. John was released by the Pope from all the engagements he had entered into with his people. The so-called spiritual arbiter judged and acted in

this case entirely in his own interests, from the standpoint of his own immediate and temporal advantage.

In the end, these temporal and feudal claims of the papal Court roused the national spirit, and made it easier to expel the usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman See. By the irony of fate, it is only in countries which are ruled upon the principles of the offending Charter that the adherents of the Pope are now quite free from State control or from active political hostility.

Innocent III. completed, organized, and extended the feudal ecclesiasticism of Gregory VII. The essence of feudalism is not in the method of inheritance or descent, but in the mode of tenure and the fact of subordination. It is useless to argue, as some apologists do, that the celibacy of the clergy saved the Church from being a feudal institution. It saved the clergy from being, ostensibly and generally, an hereditary caste. It did not save the ecclesiastical organization from copying the feudal system. The analogy of military fiefs was applied to benefices. The beneficed clergy, in their various grades, from parish priests to the archbishops, became practically the "men" of the Pope; just as in England the landowners, great and small, became the "men" of the King. Innocent III. wrote and spoke like a supreme feudal over-lord; ignoring, when it suited him, the rights of all subordinates, as in the appointment of Archbishop Langton, which was so happy in its results though so indefensible in its procedure.

During the minority of Henry III., various efforts were made by the Popes to utilize John's vassalage, by extending their authority over

political as well as ecclesiastical affairs. We were saved by the patriotic wisdom and spirit of the Baronage, aided by a few bishops, from becoming a dependency of Rome, governed by Roman legates. Langton, Hubert de Burgh, Grosseteste, Simon Earl of Leicester, and Bishop Cantilupe of Worcester, defended the liberties of England against the Crown and the Papacy during the various periods of Henry's long and miserable reign. The papal exactions and aggressions were incessant during those fifty years. As feudal superior, the Pope demanded a tribute from the whole kingdom; as head of the Church, he claimed the power of taxing ecclesiastical persons and property. He claimed the right of appointing to benefices, and he gave or sold them continually to foreigners. Bishoprics were taxed heavily at every change of occupant. The monasteries were allowed to appropriate livings; and they provided inefficiently, where they provided at all, for the cure of souls.

The exemption of certain monasteries did immense harm to the diocesan organization and to the parochial system. The special powers and licences granted to the Friars increased the mischief, and were the cause of a more active superstition and corruption. Pardons for any crime and exemptions from every obligation were to be had for money. Papal collectors were over here continually, arranging these financial matters and sending their profits to the Roman Court. To that court, also, went an increasing number of appeals, as the more serious and paying business was gradually withdrawn from the local authorities and transferred to Rome.

This state of things began, for England, under Innocent III. (1198-1216), and it lasted at

its height until Boniface VIII. (1294-1303). By that time, the Papacy had made itself intolerable. A strong anti-papal opposition was roused in England; it was gradually organized and found expression, and it never died away. The Great Schism, the migration of the Popes to Avignon, the war with France, the dependence of the Pope upon our French enemy, the exportation of money into his country, the presence of his adherents and subjects in our alien priories, as well as in many positions of trust and wealth, all added to the national discontent and the sense of danger. Both of these feelings are recorded in the statutes of the realm, and in what is reported of our parliamentary discussions.

The discipline and morals of the mediæval Church in England were destroyed in this period of papal misrule and usurpation. Not a single measure of reform was suggested by Rome. On the contrary, the Court of Rome is invariably accused, by rulers and ecclesiastics everywhere, as the chief cause of all corruption, especially of simony, and as the great obstacle to reform.

A reformation, without Rome, or in spite of it, was inevitable. It was deferred, in England, by the hundred years war with France, and then by our dynastic battles. But for these urgent occupations, the Papacy and the Religious Orders would probably have been dealt with before the sixteenth century. They did not, in fact, long survive the restoration of order, and the re-establishment of a firm central administration.

From the fourteenth century, Reformation had been in the air; not only in England but throughout Europe, and especially in those countries where the Hussites had carried

Wyclif's teachings into practice. The councils of the fifteenth century spoke much about Reform, and they tried in vain to begin with the Court of Rome. The mediæval clergy were dying of their own corruption. From the head downwards, they had no healing power in themselves. Bishop Stubbs points clearly to their deterioration through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as to the growing want of sympathy and touch between the higher clergy and the people. In place of the national and popular bishops of the thirteenth century, we find in the prelates of the following ages courtiers, mere creatures of the administration. The feudal churchmen, like the feudal baronage, had had their day. They had done good work in the earlier middle ages, but they merely cumbered the ground and hindered progress, after the thirteenth century.

Everything proves that the English Reformation was no sudden storm, and no mere theological episode. Its causes went deep into every sphere of national and social life. Politically and ecclesiastically, it was a deliberate revival of that sounder and more national condition which had prevailed in Church and State before the Norman and papal Conquest. Theologically, it was a revolt against false and unhistorical Catholicism ; against the material, sacerdotal, innovating dogmas and practices of Innocent III. and his Lateran Council. It was a deliberate return to more primitive ways of belief and worship ; a deliberate repudiation of the mediæval Papacy and its theology. Spiritually, it meant a desire to regain Christianity as it is found in the New Testament, and as it was not found in the papal and mediæval

Church. Intellectually, it meant the revival of sound learning, the recovery of Greek, of the original Scriptures, of Christian history and literature; a release from the limitations and ignorance of the middle ages.

This ignorance was not the fault of individuals, nor altogether of institutions. It was a misfortune caused by the whole condition of western Europe during the middle ages. Not only were the language, literature, and Church organization of the earlier centuries lost, but the freedom, flexibility, and fruitfulness of the Greek spirit were lost as well. Western Europe, composed entirely of unformed and barbarous peoples, was shut up within itself for nearly a thousand years, with a debased form of Latin for its one vehicle of thought and speech, and with only a few scattered and perverted shreds of knowledge as its inheritance from the great past. Naturally, in this ignorance and isolation, its point of view was narrowed and distorted. All sense of proportion and connexion was destroyed. Every true standard of judgment and comparison was removed. Those ages could only look at the past through themselves, and through their own inadequate experiences. They applied this curious and wrong perspective to every species of knowledge: to their religion and theology, no less than to their history and science. Hence that strange mingling of Christianity and the classics which we find in Dante. No difference was perceived by mediæval thinkers between history and legend, between facts and fancies. Theories were often mistaken by them for proofs, phrases for realities, syllogisms for truths. Most outrageous of all were their blunders in philology or

grammar, and most fatal in their results. The true values of their knowledge had been lost. They had no perspective, no criticism, no sense for historical shades of difference. We can still realize their point of view as we look at early paintings. The heroes of Greece and Rome, the characters of the Old and New Testaments, were made to wear the clothes, and speak the language, and think the thoughts of the middle ages. They were made to use mediæval terms, and mediæval notions were read into their genuine words and thoughts. History, philosophy, theology, the holy Scriptures themselves, all wore a mediæval dress and were regarded solely from a mediæval point of view.

It is fatuous to dispute whether people in the middle ages had, or had not, the Bible. Conceding they had it, and used it as freely as some controversialists try to prove, it was of little use to them so long as they could only read it through mediæval glasses. The clergy were in the same case as the laity, in spite of their textual knowledge, their frequent and happy use of Biblical phrases. They had no clue to Scripture or Church history, until Greek learning and scholarly methods were restored. The earth and the whole material universe were limited in a similar way by mediæval ignorance.

We must always allow for the mediæval point of view, and the limitations of mediæval thinkers, when we examine their institutions and their thought. We must not let them bias or dominate our own wider and truer knowledge of the past. We have all allowed for, and escaped from, their deficiencies in secular history and literature. We have by no means all escaped from them yet in theology and Church govern-

ment. Nor will a large number of Christians be able to escape from these consecrated blunders until they realize that the papal and Petrine claims, the "Donation of Constantine," and all that depends on these legends, are precisely on the same level, are of as much or as little value, as any other mediæval, ignorant, or childish interpretations of history, philology, and the classics.

To form an equitable notion about the papal and mediæval Church is neither an easy nor a simple matter. Too many extreme and exaggerated notions have been presented to us from both sides. It would be difficult to say which extreme has done greater mischief. A fair notion can only be gained by a vast number of independent and scattered facts, gathered from many sources, some direct, some indirect, differing much in value and in kind, but all converging in the same direction, and all uniting at last into a great and solid mass of evidence, which must be accepted if we are to accept anything in history. Sift it, minimise it, make every allowance for error and exaggeration, every allowance for prejudice or half-knowledge in our own time, for credulity and malice in the past, enough remains to form a case which cannot be substantially altered by ourselves. That was the case with which the Reformers had to deal, and they dealt with it in peril of their lives. It is easier for us to blame them than to imitate their courage and their wisdom. That case formed then, and it forms now, a terrible indictment against the Roman Court; against its origin, its development, its principles, its methods, and its results.

These broad conclusions of history may not be acceptable to modern Romanists; but, if

they be not accepted as substantially true, then the best theologians of the fifteenth century, and the ecclesiastical authorities of the sixteenth, by their policy, by their own statements about the nature and necessity of a reform in discipline, were themselves the authors of a deliberate and monstrous libel against the whole body of the clergy, Secular as well as Regular, and especially against the papal Court. Their apologists and successors may take whichever alternative they choose.

But, putting morality and abuses on one side, the most serious indictment against the papal and mediæval Church, so far as we are concerned, may be brought to a simpler test, and one not open to dispute. The mediæval Popes and their theologians did not know either the Old or the New Testament in the original. They knew little of the times and circumstances in which the Scriptures rose, or to which they referred. They knew as little of the ages following the New Testament, and of Christian antiquity. Their general knowledge of the Fathers was through translations ; and even these, to a large extent, were spurious or garbled. Their knowledge of the acts and canons of the important councils was tainted by forgeries and mistranslation. They had forgotten many of the laws and the whole organization of the earlier and united Church, and they had outraged most of those laws which they had not forgotten. Their own ecclesiastical fabric was built up on forgery, and chicanery, and successful usurpations. It had culminated, quite logically from such premisses, in the Papacy of Boniface VIII., with all his impious attributes and claims. Would any man or any institution, with such

credentials as these, be accepted now as of the least authority in any science or any branch of learning? Yet this is precisely the case of the mediæval and papal Church. It is out of court as an authority on the sole plea of incompetence.

CHAPTER VII.

The New Learning and the English Reformation.

WITH Henry VIII., we seem to enter upon a new and a larger world. Indeed, a new world was opening in many senses, and upon every side, at the dawn of the sixteenth century. Copernicus had enlarged and corrected men's notions of the material universe. Columbus had found another hemisphere, although the Inquisition had proved it could not exist. Constantinople had fallen in 1453; and the Greek treasures so long imprisoned and isolated in it were scattered over western Europe. Printing enabled all this fresh and vivifying knowledge to be circulated wholesale.

The recovery of Greek re-opened a greater world of human experience and thought. It not only restored the ancient literature, and broader ways of conceiving life, but it revived that free, flexible, reasonable tone of mind, which was the strength and glory of the Hellenic civilization, though perhaps a cause of weakness to the Grecian States.

The nations of the West were able at last to escape out of their mediæval prison; to handle things and living facts, instead of playing with syllogisms, and weaving idle theories. They were enabled to judge the present by

the past; that is, by a standard higher and truer than their own. Their perspective was corrected and enlarged. Weapons almost of precision were put into their hands. The original New Testament was restored to them, as well as a truer knowledge of Christian antiquity and of the great Fathers. They were able to breathe again the free air of Scriptural and primitive Christianity. "The paths trodden by the footsteps of ages were broken up; old things were passing away, and the faith and life of ten centuries were dissolving like a dream. The abbey and the castle were soon together to crumble into ruins; and all the forms, desires, beliefs, convictions of the old [mediæval?] world were passing away, never to return. A new continent had risen up beyond the western sea. The floor of heaven, inlaid with stars, had sunk back into an infinite abyss of immeasurable space; and the firm earth itself, unfixed from its foundations, was seen to be but a small atom in the awful vastness of the universe. In the fabric of habit which they had so laboriously built for themselves mankind were to remain no longer."

That process began, at any rate, in the sixteenth century: it still continues, with unchecked, enlarging, and irresistible advances against the whole dominion of error, of ignorance, and of spiritual bondage. There are three or four separate elements in the English Reformation, which must not be confused by those who wish to understand it rather than to blame or praise it. First, there was the King's divorce, which, on both sides, brought a narrow, an irritating, and a personal factor into the dispute between the Crown and the

Papacy. Following this, and embittered by it, was our repudiation of the papal claims and jurisdiction. Next, and most important, there was the Reformation proper of the English Church, in doctrine, discipline, and constitution: its restoration to Catholic, primitive, Scriptural, and therefore apostolic or evangelical Christianity. Depending from this, partly ecclesiastical, but much more social and political, was the dissolution of the Religious Houses and the resumption of their property.

As to the divorce, it must be remembered that Henry's marriage was dubious and unedifying from the beginning. It was always doubtful whether Julius II. had not exceeded his powers in granting a dispensation for the marriage with a brother's widow. It is not credible, in the teeth of facts and custom, in spite of Katharine's oath, that the condition was not violated upon which alone Pope Julius owned that he could lawfully dispense, and upon which the validity of the dispensation was based. The whole question turned upon the extent and limits of the Pope's authority; and of this, it is impossible to think that the Pope himself could be a satisfactory, a final, or an impartial judge. Moreover, the question was raised at the very time when the Pope's authority itself was being challenged, and when the Roman Courts had been long notorious for venality, for extortion, for cynical delays and miscarriages of justice.

The matter of the succession was undoubtedly genuine and serious. It filled the country with anxiety and fears, especially after the recent experience of civil war. There was no precedent for a female sovereign, except the disputed and

ill-omened case of Henry the First's daughter. Had the cause been judged dispassionately, on its merits, even though the marriage had been beyond suspicion, there can be little doubt that the succession would have been held sufficient to justify a divorce. It is the fashion, juggling with words, to assert that the "Catholic Church" does not allow divorce: nevertheless, under different and less honest names, dissolutions of marriage were perpetual, easily obtained, and generally scandalous, throughout the middle ages.

Henry undoubtedly had a good case. With as little doubt, he spoilt it and behaved shamefully. This does not alter the impersonal merits of his case. The Pope, too, as we must remember, was not free from partialities and selfish interests. Henry's wife and sister-in-law was also the Emperor's aunt. The Pope had been the Emperor's prisoner, and was his helpless tool, his puppet in a large scheme of policy. The Papal States and the territories of the Pope's family were at the mercy of Charles V. Clement was not, therefore, either a free or an impartial judge. The personal element vitiates not only Henry's case, but Katharine's case, and still more the Pope's handling of it. Most of all, it disqualifies the judge and his tribunals. It proves, amongst other things, that the Papal States are an insuperable barrier to the Pope's freedom, and to Roman impartiality. Besides all this, it was unprecedented, and under the circumstances it was both dangerous and intolerable, that the King of England should be summoned personally to plead in Rome, where he would be in the power of the Emperor.

So much, then, for the Divorce, which cer-

tainly proved the need of reforming the papal courts and jurisdiction; but which was not the origin, though it was one of the provocative causes, of the English Reformation.

The repudiation of the Pope's authority followed as a consequence from the doubts and quarrels raised by the Divorce. In 1529, a Parliament met, which sat for seven years, and carried through our deliverance from the Roman Court and bishopric. In 1533, all appeals to Rome were forbidden. Parliament then decreed that the payment of Annates to Rome should cease; and this revenue was confiscated from the Pope in 1534. The same year, another Act was passed abolishing the whole of the papal jurisdiction in England. Convocation voted that "the bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in this kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." In 1535, the Act of Supremacy was passed; and the King was entitled "Supreme Head of the Church of England." In all this, there was nothing new or revolutionary. It was a return to the ancient ways, a re-assertion of older freedom, a carrying into effect of that which had long been thought, and expressed in legal form.

In the eleventh century, William I. forbad excommunications, the calling of synods, or the entrance and acceptance of papal documents, without his leave. These enactments met the whole papal usurpation, so far as it had then developed. In the next century, the question of Investitures was settled in England by a compromise, which abated nothing of the Royal Supremacy over all persons. It was the position maintained by the Conqueror, which Henry

II. re-affirmed in the Constitutions of Clarendon. The Pope's demand for taxes from the clergy was rejected in 1226, but he levied a tenth in 1229. The extortion of Annates was obtained under false pretences in 1256.

In the next century, however, the Statute of Provisors was enacted to restrain the abuses and encroachments of papal patronage; and the Statutes of Præmunire were aimed at the usurped and growing jurisdiction of the Roman courts. Weak sovereigns often gave up the interests of the clergy to the Popes; but the Royal Supremacy was always exercised both in theory and in practice. The Crown always limited the papal jurisdiction. It reserved to itself the right of admitting or rejecting papal decrees, and of authorising or refusing the exercise of legatine and other delegatal powers. No new principle was thus initiated by Henry VIII. He only made more effective those principles which had been asserted continuously since the eleventh century, and which before that had not required an assertion. The Royal Supremacy did not replace a papal supremacy, as is too often supposed.

There is no parallel whatever between the mediæval Church of England and the modern papal Church in England, with regard to the Papacy. Between the twelfth century and the sixteenth, the papal jurisdiction was allowed, grudgingly, partially, always under protest. In the sixteenth century it was frankly and honestly abolished, according to the spirit of those laws which had been passed in the fourteenth to restrain and protest against it. A lawless usurpation was put down in a legal and constitutional way, by a return to older and

sounder practices. In this matter, the Pope and the mediæval theologians were the innovators. The legislation of Henry VIII. and the Reformers was, so far as the Papacy is concerned, a conservative and constitutional reaction.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Disendowment of the Religious Orders.

THE Papacy might be described, in one of Matthew Arnold's phrases, as "the eternal mundane spectacle." It forces every question with which it is concerned to be more political than religious. It soils religion with diplomacy, politics, and sordid financial interests. This inherent defect of the papal theory, system, and methods is illustrated by the history of the Religious Orders in England. The Benedictine monks and monasteries had been of great use to England in the centuries of settlement. They did good work for learning, for agriculture, for trade, for the development of towns. After the Conquest, there was a rapid growth in the numbers and nature of the Religious Orders. We find the various reforms of the Benedictines, such as Carthusians and Cistertians, entering the country; and, in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and other Friars increased the number of the Religious Houses. The new Orders, unlike the Benedictines, were centralized, and governed from Rome.

There were about six hundred houses of men and women in England at the Dissolution. The great majority had been founded before the reign of Richard II.; that is, between 1066 and 1366. Only eight houses were founded in the fifteenth century, as against one hundred-and-

fifty-seven in the reign of Henry III. On the other hand, sixty foundations for charity and learning were endowed in the fifteenth century. From the time of Edward III. onwards, we find colleges, schools, hospitals, and alms-houses being endowed in the place of monasteries. These figures show that the monastic foundations had outgrown their usefulness. They had also, in consequence, to a large extent outgrown their popularity.

The Peasants' Rising in the fourteenth century shows how unpopular the monks were as landlords, and how they obstructed progress. They clung to antiquated rights and customs, which had grown into flagrant injustices. They were the slowest of the landowners to abolish serfdom. They obstructed the freedom and progress of the towns on their estates. In the reactionary and repressive measures which followed the Rising, the monks were both vindictive and treacherous. The destruction of monastic property was in many cases a popular vengeance, long delayed, but carried out heartily and thoroughly in the end.

The revenues of the Orders, too, were both excessive in themselves and a danger to the State. The revenues of the clergy under Henry VIII. might be put at £500,000 a year; and of this, the Religious Orders probably enjoyed over £300,000. The landed estates and rentals of the clergy are recorded accurately; their extra revenues, which came from innumerable sources, form the difficulty in estimating. The revenue of Henry's Government has been estimated at £125,000 a year. We are quite safe in multiplying by ten, if we wish to estimate the current or spending values of these incomes.

Now the clerical revenues were so heavily taxed by Rome that they could not pay their due proportion of taxes to the Crown. The Friars were not taxed at all; as, by a papal fiction, they possessed no real property. The incomes of the clergy, over and above their endowments in land, and their exportations of produce, were neither estimated nor taxed. The whole amount paid by them to their absentee sovereign in Italy, and to his non-resident nominees, was a dead loss to the kingdom. In the time of the French war, it had proved a serious danger. In any collision with the Papacy, England was occupied by wealthy and numerous corporations, whose interests were more papal than patriotic, whose persons and properties were at the disposal of an alien authority. The wealth of the Religious Orders was really a social question. Their position, their dependence on Rome, made the question political. Besides, the financial state of the Religious Houses was neither edifying nor possible to mend. Many of the smaller houses were bankrupt in money, and mortgaged beyond recovery. All the greater houses were bankrupt in men. They failed to attract subjects, in spite of all they had to offer. At Saint Alban's, for instance, with an income of £20,000 a year, in current value, there were only thirty-seven monks. Glastonbury had an income of more than £30,000 a year, and very few monks. It is difficult to see why small communities of clergymen should require these vast incomes to practice poverty.

The morality of the Religious Houses is a more disputable question. In any case, it was not above suspicion. It had been the subject

of much and of long complaint. It could not be dealt with regularly except through the Pope; and, in this case, as in all others, Rome was the standing obstacle to Reform. It would not act itself; it had exempted many of the monks from episcopal visitation and control; it would not allow a lay authority to interfere. In this policy, Rome has persisted to the present day. Pius IX. was asked in vain to reform the Italian Orders. He refused; and the State, in despair, abolished them. The Pope is reported to have said, in private, that "their destruction was the only reform possible." The present conflict in France, the dangers and damage caused to the State by active and wealthy corporations depending on a foreign power, may show us how far more real and serious were the dangers incurred by Henry VIII. in his battle with the Papacy for civil freedom and ecclesiastical reformation.

In the process of dissolution, there was no doubt much to be regretted and blamed. There was much unavoidable distress and suffering to individuals. There was much injustice, and there were many high-handed proceedings. There must have been considerable dishonesty among the agents who carried it through, and the petty local authorities who had so many opportunities for jobbery and plunder. These blemishes do not affect the general question, nor the broad principles involved in it. Is the Crown of England sovereign or dependent? Had the Crown a lawful right to deal with this vast question of persons and property, which affected the health and safety of the nation; or could it only act in dependence on a foreign power, whose financial and political interests were concerned in opposing all reform? These

are the broad principles involved; and there could only be one solution of them.

Dissolutions were as old as Richard II., and the originator of them was Bishop Wykeham. The alien priories had been confiscated under Henry V. Wolsey had dissolved many Religious Houses, and transferred their revenues to his educational foundations.

Henry VIII. did not, fortunately, as it is often asserted, seize the monastic revenues himself; or the Crown would have become independent, and we know it remained poor. Nor did he squander them on worthless courtiers. The new families, established throughout the country by Henry VIII., on the monastic lands, were a firm barrier against reaction during the sixteenth century. They were the backbone of Parliament in the revolutions of the seventeenth. Henry VIII. thus gave us the supporters of Elizabeth, the opponents of the Stuarts, the leaders of the Whig Oligarchy in 1688 and 1714.

No better use could probably have been made, at the time, of these endowments. The parochial needs of the country were more than provided for by the church accommodation and revenues of the sixteenth century. Education was fairly provided for by the endowments of Edward VI. The country would have been pauperized if the monastic revenues had been given to charity. It is unfair to blame Henry and his Government because they did not foresee the population and the complex needs of our own time. Some of the monastic property, too, was employed by Henry VIII. in building forts, furnishing arsenals, and resisting those invasions which the Roman Court stirred up against him.

CHAPTER IX.

The Reformation of the Church.

THE Reformation proper could not have been carried out unless the monasteries had been dissolved. It would not have been complete or logical unless the chantries, and many practices favoured by the Religious Orders, had been suppressed. The English Reformation was, above all things, an appeal to sound learning, to primitive belief and practice, to ancient freedom. The corporate life and fabric of the old national Church were not touched. There was no break in continuity, no change in the ancient form and machinery of government. Scripture was made the final standard and arbiter of belief, as it had been to the early Church. Everything which could not meet the test of Scripture was judged to be merely human. It might be advisable as a matter of sentiment and order. It could not be binding as a matter of faith or conscience.

The results of the New Learning were accepted, and applied both to Scripture itself and to antiquity. By these aids, our first generation of Reformers abolished a great many papal and mediæval accretions upon the ancient faith. Their model of belief and practice was the primitive Church, and not the mediæval. They deliberately rejected the ritual, beliefs, theology,

liturgies, and practices of the thirteenth century. They repudiated all the papal claims and usurpations. They re-asserted those liberties which had once been possessed by every national Church, and which our own Church had enjoyed until the eleventh century.

These were the ends set by Cranmer and his fellow workers before themselves. They strove to attain them with utter honesty, carrying their lives in their hands. We must admire their learning, which was obtained by them in spite of many difficulties, which was used with so much sobriety and judgment, which was guided by an instinct or insight that amounts to genius; for we must remember that the False Decretals and various other Romanizing forgeries were not exposed fully until the reign of Elizabeth.

The aims and attitude of the reformed Church of England are expressed very well, through the mouth of Cranmer, in Tennyson's "Queen Mary." "Your creed will be your death," Peter Martyr says to the Archbishop; and, indeed, the nation had to fight, almost to the death, to maintain its freedom in religion, upon which its civic liberties and its sovereignty over its own affairs depended also. Cranmer replied:

> "Step after step,
> Thro' many voices crying right and left,
> Have I clim'd back into the primal Church,
> And stand within the porch, and Christ with me."

That consciousness of the divine presence; that honest striving after the truth; that reaching back through controversy, through all the centuries of ignorance, of official deceits, and

of blind corruption; that effort to regain the "primal Church," to restore as far as possible the Christianity of the New Testament: these were the aims of our Reformers. The determination to secure these good things enabled them to carry on that struggle which won our theological and historical position; and which, though it was not seen clearly at the time, ensured our national independence, as well as our political and civil freedom.

The English Reformation was a long process, going through many experiments, advancing and receding, influenced from without and from within. It began in 1529, and was not finished until 1662. Under Henry VIII., the Crown recovered its old and unquestioned supremacy over all persons and causes within its dominions. Henry revived no powers which had not been used by our native rulers before the Conquest; which had not been claimed by all our Sovereigns, at least in theory, after it. The Church of England asserted and regained those ancient liberties which all Churches had by right, and used by law, before the Papacy encroached upon them. In doctrine and ritual, the Reformers went back, as far as possible, to the standard of the early Church, rejecting papal and mediæval innovations.

There are three stages in the development of the papal authority, or of the Roman usurpation, which must be distinguished from one another, and separated clearly in our thought, if we would understand the Anglican position. There is, first of all, the bishopric of Rome, between 323 and the end of Justinian's reign. In that period, the Roman bishop was one among four or five patriarchs, who all had

equal and co-ordinate powers, who all recognized the Imperial Supremacy, and the final authority of the Church in council. There was, next, the period between 565 and 1061, when the Roman bishop stood alone, cut off from the Greeks, exercising dependent secular authority. He extended his patriarchal jurisdiction, illegally, and gradually developed the mediæval Papacy. In the early part of this period, the English Church was organized, and entered upon those relations with the Roman See which prevailed here between Gregory I. and Alexander II. This was the utmost extent of communion with Rome which the English Nation and Church ever accepted willingly, and perhaps legally. Communion with the Roman bishop must always be distinguished from subjection to the papal Court.

Between 1061 and 1300, the mediæval Papacy developed into the feudal Papacy of Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII. This feudal Papacy encroached upon all States and Churches, including our own. In this period, new doctrines were defined, new discipline was imposed, the constitution and conceptions of the Church were transformed almost out of recognition. England met the whole course of this development with constitutional protests. We did everything that was possible to resist its progress. That resistance was not of much practical use, though it was by no means ineffectual. It served, at any rate, to mark the stages of the papal usurpation, and to preserve the memory of our ancient freedom. It enabled the Reformers to appeal from the feudal Papacy to an older, freer, and purer state of things. They could point to Rome as the innovator, the

aggressor, and take their stand upon the earlier constitution of the Church.

The Church of England stands now precisely where it stood then, though encompassed with numerous descendants and allies; all witnessing, historically and theologically, against the mediæval and the later stages of papal development, just as the various eastern Churches witness, doctrinally and historically, against the earlier.

CHAPTER X.

Henry VIII.

HENRY VIII. was a strong man, who guided us, without any disaster, through a dangerous and an inevitable crisis. It was inevitable, if we were to remain true to our national traditions. He did a rough and necessary piece of work, with as little violence as was possible in that age, with those agents, and against the most unscrupulous of enemies. He kept us from serious invasion, and from a theological civil war. The executions of individuals in his reign must never be judged without remembering the grave dangers of the State; without a minute knowledge of plots and parties within the realm, as well as of the intrigues and designs of our various foreign enemies. Henry accomplished a difficult and a dangerous work, in the face of some internal opposition, of much external and powerful hostility. He "broke the bonds of Rome," and secured our freedom as a Church and Nation. He gave us our place and function in the modern world.

We have no right to accept that great and responsible inheritance without making every allowance for the dangers and difficulties of those who gained it. After all, nothing greater has been done in the history of England; nothing which has contributed so largely to

make us, and all the peoples descended from us, what we are. The Papacy was a stronger and a more dangerous enemy to our growth and freedom than were the Stuart kings.

Henry's faults are only too obvious; but they do not outweigh his political services, nor do they cancel our obligations to him. Besides, Henry VIII. had no irresponsible or despotic authority. He had neither a revenue, nor an army, by which he could overawe his people, or act independently of them. Without national support, he could not have ruled the clergy, expelled the Pope, and suppressed the monks. Some parts of the country were, no doubt, against the suppression of the monasteries, and any changes in public worship; but the more intelligent and prosperous parts, such as London, the towns generally, the more flourishing eastern and southern counties, were on the side of liberty and progress; that is to say, they were strongly national in feeling, and therefore anti-papal.

The distinction between Catholicism and papalism was perceived clearly, and held firmly, not only by Henry himself, but evidently by the nation as a whole; for we must remember that both Houses of Convocation, and all the bishops, including Fisher, accepted Henry's anti-papal measures. They were glad to be freed from the papal exactions and usupations, as well as from the exempted and Romanizing cloistered associations.

The attitude of the more conservative English bishops towards Rome may be established from the earlier writings and policy of Gardiner. Henry VIII., both in what he removed and in what he retained, was theologically conservative,

and he was a typical representative of the national feeling in religion. He took the country with him, in the various stages of his policy; or, it might be said as truly, the nation took him. During his reign, there was not any national sympathy or movement for the papal cause.

Henry intended to be and to remain a Catholic, as that word was used, understood, and applied to the Church by the makers of the Nicene Creed; though his knowledge of what was really Catholic and primitive was necessarily incomplete, and he accepted various beliefs and practices which a sounder scholarship proved later to have been papal and mediæval in their origin. Henry always repudiated the term Protestant, as it was misunderstood and usurped by sectarians, whether Lutherans or Calvinists. But, whether he recognised it or no, Henry was a Protestant in the historical and original meaning of the word; that is to say, while repudiating any new confession of faith, or any changes in the ancient polity of the Church, he took his stand firmly upon holy Scripture, as the makers of the creeds had before him. He appealed from the usurped authority of the Pope to the final authority of Scripture in all matters of belief and controversy.

After Henry's death, much new light was thrown, both upon Scripture and Christian antiquity, by more competent scholarship and research, as well as by experience and the drift of practical affairs. For instance, the Romanism which emerged at Trent, which moulded and dominated the papal Church from the time of Henry's death, was very different from the spirit which had prevailed at Constance, or from

the "Catholicism" which had grown up during the middle ages. The problems which had to be faced by Jewel, by Hooker, and by Usher were not quite the same as those with which the first Reformers had been obliged to deal. The knowledge available in the latter half of the sixteenth century was fuller and surer than the knowledge of Cranmer or even of Erasmus. The changes thus produced were, however, changes of detail and not of principle. The broad way of Reformation which was begun by Henry and his advisers was taken up and continued under Elizabeth, in spite of the two narrow and violent reactions which came between. Henry VIII. died as the Council of Trent began to sit; and the churchmen held a service of thanksgiving for the removal of so dread an enemy. Henry's work, however, has lived on, and has proved itself the most formidable opponent to the false history and theology of Trent. His death and that Council inaugurate a new departure.

CHAPTER XI.

The Council of Trent and the New Romanism.

THE attitude of the Papacy to the Reformation has now to be considered. It was very different from the attitude of the English People. In the fifteenth century, the Council of Constance ended the Great Schism. It asserted the old and catholic principle that the Church in council is of higher authority than a Pope. It deposed the three rival occupants of the papal chair, whose conflicting titles, in their several degrees of badness and uncertainty, could not by any means be adjusted. The only practical course was to put all the claimants on one side; and a fresh start was made by the election of Martin V. The Roman Court, however, was able to obstruct all other efforts at reform, though every national Church and Government desired it. The last chance of a constitutional reformation was thus destroyed by the Roman Court itself; and the Churches went on, helplessly and hopelessly in their corruption, until they were destroyed or purged by the storms and fires of a revolution.

Martin V. returned to Rome, and to the enjoyment of the Papal States, in 1420. The Popes who followed him resembled the Italian Despots of that age; fighting and scheming

against their neighbours for additions of wealth and territory; drawing immense revenues also from their ecclesiastical position, and thus holding a great advantage over all other rivals by their spiritual prerogatives and claims. Their supernatural reputation, however, was dimmed and tarnished by the Schism, and by all the scandals which had been connected for so long with the Roman Court and its administration. These scandals, both official and personal, did not grow less during the remainder of the fifteenth century. The Pontiffs, at the end of that century and the beginning of the sixteenth, increased their territories, increased and endowed their families, and enjoyed almost incredible wealth and splendour; but this apparent good fortune was dearly bought by the abuses which were sapping the health and credit of the Church. The barque of Peter was like that "gilded vessel" in Gray's ode, "proudly riding" over the golden waters, with "Pleasure at the helm," careless of the gathering and rumbling storm.

The Popes of that age welcomed the tastes and fashions of the Renaissance. They were not averse from the architecture, the decorations, or the titles of their predecessors, the heathen Emperors and Pontiffs. The Breviary, even in its now expurgated form, shows that they had no prejudices against the phraseology of the old Pantheon. They admired some things which were truly admirable in the manners and society of ancient Rome, but they imitated others which they should not even have admired. They are credited, however, too easily and commonly, with a zeal for the New Learning; with being its chief patrons and promoters. These Popes

did, in truth, employ sculptors, and jewellers, and painters, and florid builders, and honeyed Latinists; the Court of Rome played and even rioted with the toys of the classical revival: yet the very same Popes, with an horde of scurril and ferocious ecclesiastics, opposed the more serious consequences and fruits of the Renaissance; that is, the application of the New Learning to Scripture, to theology, to church history and government, to the natural sciences, to political and social questions, to intellectual and individual freedom. Scholars like Erasmus were alternately caressed and slandered by the upholders of the Papacy and of mediæval ignorance.

The Council of Trent was the final answer of the Papacy to the demand of Europe for a reformation. The reprisals and repressions which followed that Council showed what the spirit and methods of the new Romanism were to be. The Council met in 1545, and it continued intermittently for 18 years. In 1540, Paul III. had confirmed and authorized the Society of Jesus. The theology of Trent, the methods by which it was manœuvred through the Council, and propagated in Europe afterwards, were due chiefly to the Jesuits; whom we must regard as the foremost champions of the Papacy, and as the incarnation of that new papalism, which was determined at all costs, not only to reconquer its lost authority, but to conquer the human race more thoroughly than before.

To this end, the papal authority had, by any and every means, to be re-affirmed, strengthened, and extended. The Council, therefore, could not be allowed to go behind the middle ages and the theology of Innocent III. The

theologians of Trent could not adopt the New Learning honestly, with its recovered knowledge of Scripture and of Christian antiquity; simply because that knowledge undermined the mediæval Church and the foundations of the Pope's authority. The mediæval errors in theology were all re-affirmed, extended, and codified, notwithstanding the exposure of all the forgeries and frauds upon which the papal system had been erected. Beliefs and practices, which the mediæval theologians had accepted in ignorance and good faith, were re-affirmed in bad faith and against the light by the wire-pullers of Trent, who imposed them even more rigorously upon their Church. The definitions of Trent were moulded and carried through by the Jesuits, solely in the interests of the Papacy, by the votes of illiterate, venal, dependent Italian bishops, the tools and creatures of the Pope.

The numbers and nationality of the Tridentine bishops go far to explain the methods and theology of this papal assembly, which cannot be accepted as a mouthpiece of Catholic opinion and beliefs. During the final sessions there were present 189 Italians, who for the most part were dependent on the Roman Court, and were not conspicuous for learning. There were 31 Spaniards, 6 Portugese, and 26 Frenchmen. Germany and Flanders had two bishops each; and there was one Englishman. That is to say, the Teutonic nations, who were most anxious about reform, had five representatives. The so-called Council was, for all practical purposes, a packed synod of Italians, who were neither free nor competent. The committees were so shuffled that a papal majority was always assured in each of them. The general sessions of the

Council were guided by skilful and unscrupulous presidents, who manipulated all the discussions and votes in favour of the Papacy.

Even so, the Council often embarrassed and alarmed the Roman Court. It was delayed, suspended, removed into papal territory, cajoled, bribed, and threatened. Its business was interrupted continually while instructions were sought from Rome; whence, as an ambassador reported, the Holy Ghost was sent regularly in a mail-bag to the presiding legate. There was a serious discussion, when the Council opened, as to whether bishops received their commission immediately from God, or mediately through the Pope. That question struck at the episcopal office and authority. In the ages of the great Councils and the Patriarchates, this question could not have been raised, as there was no Papacy. In more primitive times, the bishops were regarded only as witnesses to the faith; they represented their congregations, and reported their beliefs. The dubious compromise about this difficulty left the Pope master of the situation: since Trent, the papal authority has never been seriously questioned in an assembly of the Latin Church; and it has increased steadily, until the episcopal office has become little more than a delegated power, exercised, as the Romanized bishops now themselves proclaim, "by favour of the Apostolic See."

The methods of controversy which were necessitated by the attitude assumed at Trent, that is by the defence of an unhistorical position, and the advocacy of a damaged case, have been perpetuated in the apologetics of the Roman Church; and they have been more seriously burdened by the later definition of papal infallibility. They

are a cause of intellectual and moral weakness. The advocates of the Papacy dare not appeal to the broad facts of history, or live at ease in the free and bracing air of modern thought, accepting the canons of scientific history and criticism. They are bound to be advocates manipulating a case, forcing it by any shifts to a foregone conclusion. They cannot be disinterested or impartial enquirers, allowing facts themselves to speak impersonally, and deciding finally by the laws of evidence. The Roman Church "triumphs over history" by ignoring or outraging the facts which history records. It relies upon authority, and defies truth. It wanders in a vicious circle, appealing helplessly, when it is pressed, to the Pope's authority and office, which are always the ultimate question in dispute. The papal authority is not, as Milner boasted, "the end of controversy," but is merely the end, as it is the starting-point, of all the Roman arguments.

There was more talk than reality at the Papal Court in the matter of reform. The precedents and habits of Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. were no longer followed openly or in the magnificent way of those gorgeous Pontiffs; but the names of the Farnese, the Aldobrandini, the Borghese, the Barberini, and of many other families, whose fortunes and palaces were quarried out of Saint Peter's rock, prove that the affections and expenditure of Christ's Vicars were very little changed or chastened by the Catholic Reaction. The Curia lost many sources of revenue, but its methods and procedure were not perceptibly or radically improved.

Stricter laws were drawn up at Trent for the bishops; but the Roman Catholic episcopates in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do not

show that those regulations had much effect. The state of the Religious Orders during the same period forces us to a similar conclusion. The Philosophers and the Revolution of the eighteenth century were much more effective instruments of reform than the so-called Catholic Reaction. That Reaction meant, not so much a reform in morals, as a concentration of all authority in Rome, a stern intellectual repression within the papal Church, and savage reprisals, wherever they were possible, against those who had renounced the Papacy.

In our own country, when the firm guidance of Henry VIII. was removed, there were two interludes of weakness and reaction; and then England entered upon a struggle of life and death with the militant and renovated Papal Court. We were battling for civil, political, and religious freedom, or even for our existence as an independent nation. The Papacy made war upon us, according to its new methods, for its new creed, for its confiscated income and its forfeited authority, and by means of its new instrument, the Society of Jesus. The battle on our side was directed by one of the greatest and most courageous of our sovereigns: the ministers whom she chose were worthy of herself, and of our cause. In Burghley and in Walsingham, the Jesuits, and even Parsons, their greatest English representative, found opponents who could beat them at their own weapons; though Elizabeth and her advisers never stooped to those criminal and dastardly methods which some agents of the Papacy allowed themselves to use. Walsingham baffled plots and spies by one of the most perfect organizations of a secret service that was ever known; but the Queen and her

ministers did not resort to poison, to assassination, or to the wiles of casuistry and equivocating. When it came to hard and open fighting, the sailors of Elizabeth swept her enemies from the sea. If the Armada carried the ambitions of Philip, the desires and blessings of the Papacy, the methods and machinery of the Inquisition, the fleets of Elizabeth bore the fortunes of the Reformation, of our national and imperial growth, of our coming freedom and progress; of that life and greatness which could not have been developed under obedience to Rome, which is irreconcilable with the spirit and methods of the Papacy as they were enunciated and organized by Trent.

Of Edward the Sixth's reign we need say only two things. One is, that advantage was taken of the King's minority, by unscrupulous and greedy politicians, to advance themselves and their families under the pretext of religion, and of a more zealous reformation. The other is, that in spite of this favourable opportunity, no individual or sectarian reformer, whether English or foreign, was able to intrude his private opinions into the official utterances of our Church.

The opposite reaction under Mary was due principally to the sympathies and feelings of the Queen herself; but also to the fears and uneasiness caused by the disturbance and misgovernment of Edward's reign. The orderly, quiet, and patriotic majority, who wanted stability and a reformed Catholicism, were alienated finally from all sympathy with a papal reaction or restoration by the greater violence and misgovernment of Mary. This Queen was Spanish and not English, both in her nature and her

sympathies. She made England a satellite of Spain, and reduced us to the lowest and weakest state politically which we have ever reached. She was possessed by a personal and petty rancour, for which there had been too much provocation during her soured and unhappy life; but, in conceding this to the woman, we necessarily condemn the Queen. She relied upon the Spaniards, instead of on her People, and she took naturally to Spanish methods. She would have given up much more to Spain, to the new Romanism of Trent, and to their arbitrary methods, if the Privy Council had not restrained her. The country would not endure any restitution of the monastic lands; but Mary was allowed to restore the papal jurisdiction, as well as to revive and extend the laws against heretics.

Between 1555 and 1558, at least three hundred persons were burnt in England, an average of about a hundred a year, or two a week. Our experience of the counter-reformation and its methods was short and slight. As many victims, almost, have been displayed sometimes on a single Spanish holiday; and we never tolerated among us the injustice, the indignities, and the cruelties which were inflicted by the Spanish Inquisition upon its victims before they were finally dispatched.

The country, however, was sickened with blood; and Mary did England a real service by showing it the spirit and methods of that new Romanism which was established by the Council of Trent. The lesson thus learnt from the misuse of power by Romanized ecclesiastics was brought home to the country in another way, when the Papacy was deprived again of all

jurisdiction here, and tried to regain its influence by policy and plotting. The manœuvres of the Papacy and its accomplices against Elizabeth are even more odious and criminal than their exploits against helpless and conscientious victims under Mary.

CHAPTER XII.

Elizabeth's Battle against the Papacy.

ELIZABETH resolved to be Queen of an united people, and not the leader of any faction or sect, especially in religion. She was entirely British in feeling, as in descent. Her patriotism and statesmanship were of the highest order. Her courage was magnificent. She restored good government, security, and prosperity at home. By the most skilful diplomacy, she maintained an outward peace with all her neighbours, and avoided an open war with Spain for almost thirty years. The Act of Supremacy was renewed when she succeeded; and the Crown thus recovered its lawful and sovereign authority over all persons and all national affairs. The Act of Uniformity in Worship established the reformed Prayer-Book. Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy was accepted, more or less willingly, by a large majority of the nation. Out of nine thousand beneficed clergy, rather less than two hundred resigned, or were expelled for disobeying. The great body of the people were contented with the English and legal service in their parish churches; or, at any rate, they submitted, and attended it. In those days, there was no rigid uniformity of service among the Churches in communion with Rome, and many local rites were used

without question. The scrupulous minority, who held aloof, were not molested in their persons, so long as they could prove that they were peaceable and loyal subjects. Elizabeth wished, above all things, to heal the religious differences of her kingdom, and she relied on time as the great healer. For twelve years, her efforts were allowed to go on quietly and successfully. They were, indeed, so successful as to displease and alarm the Roman Court, which had no grievance against her, except that she would not allow the Pope to interfere either with our freedom in religion or with our choice of a sovereign. In 1570, therefore, Pius V. issued a Bull, excommunicating and deposing the Queen as an heretical usurper, releasing her subjects from their allegiance, excommunicating those who remained loyal, ordering those who accepted the Pope's authority to carry out this his judgment, and forbidding them to attend the established worship.

This was a declaration of open war; and the Popes were henceforth allies or instigators of all our foreign enemies in turn: of the Spaniards especially, of the House of Guise in France, of their descendant and tool Mary Stuart, and of the native Irish. The Popes and their agents intrigued as well with every element of disaffection and disorder within the kingdom.

A small number of Englishmen accepted the Bull, so far as worship was concerned, and separated themselves from the national Church. By this proceeding, a schismatical popish sect or faction was inaugurated among us. In date, it is thus the second among recognized bodies of Nonconformists: the Independents taking precedence of the Romanists. In size, it is

very much smaller now, relatively to the population and to other religious bodies, than it was under Elizabeth.

This new papal sect was divided immediately into two main factions, with regard to political and national affairs. Its internal quarrels were more numerous and petty. They were also interminable, exceedingly bitter in spirit, as well as tyrannical and treacherous in method.

One of these factions, the larger and worthier, was honestly religious and patriotic. Its adherents wished only to go their own way quietly, following their conscience in Church government, being in all other matters loyal to their Queen and country. These Romanists are worthy of all honour. They held to their faith, as they conceived it, heroically, through danger and much suffering. They maintained their loyalty, and proved it abundantly, in spite of grievous ill-usage and provocation. They represented the traditional, though erroneous, Catholicism which had prevailed in England between the fourth Lateran Council and the conservative Church legislation of Henry VIII., and which as a living system of theology had passed away from us for ever. It was overwhelmed, on one side, by that revived and reformed national Catholicism which the New Learning had produced: on the other side, it was undermined and supplanted by the narrowed, centralized, and more definite Romanism of Trent.

A revived patriotic and national Catholicism, which we owe chiefly to the wisdom and courage of Elizabeth, and the political, violent, sectarian papalism, which the Jesuits organized and manipulated, were thus brought into active conflict with one another; and their irreconcilable

differences ended that compromise between patriotism and Popery, between the Royal Supremacy and the papal claims, which had satisfied our mediæval ancestors. The political, national, and ecclesiastical forces which were brought into open and irreconcilable hostility, by reformation and reaction, by the New Learning and obscurantism, by the claims of knowledge and of liberty against a corrupt and usurped authority, left no place or function for those who represented, and still desired, the old spirit of mediæval freedom and compromise. Their sufferings were piteous, but they were as inevitable as they were undeserved. Their troubles were due chiefly to the political temper and the criminal methods of the more violent papal agents, who obeyed the Roman Court, who represented the methods and spirit of modern Romanism.

These extremists, led and misguided by the Jesuits, were violently and actively hostile to Elizabeth's person and policy. The Queen was described by these men as "the usurper who now occupies the kingdom." They acknowledged the Pope's right to depose English sovereigns, chosen lawfully and constitutionally by the nation; and to dispose of the succession according to his political and sectarian interests.

In these matters, the old school of English Romanists, like More and Gardiner, were thoroughly sound and constitutional. The Jesuit leader, Parsons, on the other hand, writes of "the Pope, who, besides the universal power given to him by God for defending religion, has a particular right of majesty, and supreme dominion in England." In other words, Parsons accepted the spiritual claims of the Papacy, with

all their consequences, as well as those temporal and feudal claims upon the Crown of England which were based upon John's homage and surrender. Parsons and his adherents were eager to carry out the Pope's intentions, and to make the Bull of Pius V. an effectual weapon. He and his agents were in sympathy with all our foreign enemies, and especially with Spain. They fomented rebellion and discontent within the kingdom. They intrigued with every claimant to the throne; and, as we can see now by their own correspondence, they used and duped them all in turn.

The chief object of the Jesuits was to be on the winning side, and to make the best use of events for the advantage and domination of their Society. The famous Père La Chaise, writing to Father Petre in 1688, says that Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, allowed Parsons to support the claims of King Philip; and another agent, Creighton, to support the succession of King James VI.; "so that the Society should be on the winning side whether James or Philip won."

Parsons has been flattered in a modern Jesuit publication as "animated throughout by sincere patriotism;" but, from his writings and policy, we can only understand his "patriotism" as a desire to subject England to the papal religion and authority. He seems to have disliked any true political or civil freedom, and to have ignored the question of our national independence. From his own point of view, he was right. He acted logically from his premisses. He was far more logical and loyal in his reasoning than those who shrink from the full application of the papal theory, or who deny the natural

results of it. Unfortunately, he was thoroughly disloyal and unscrupulous in his methods.

Parsons appears to have been indifferent to the succession, so long as the interests of the Papacy and of his own Society were served. "Right," he says, "is the least important element in the claim;" and he probably thought even less of the rights, interests, and constitutional wishes of the nation than of the supposed hereditary rights of any claimant. He lived and laboured for the purpose of "reducing England again to the Church," that is to the Pope, and to his Spanish masters; and he was quite willing to accept a Spanish sovereignty as the instrument of this reduction. In his "Memorial for the Reformation of England," he advocates the restoration of the monastic lands, not however to the original Orders which had owned them, but to a council of "principal bishops and prelates *and others most fit for the purpose.*" These *others* were, it would seem, the Jesuits; who were to handle the Church revenues, to direct the prelates, and to monopolise clerical and secular education. The Council devised by Parsons was to be, really, the Inquisition; though not called so openly, as its title "may be somewhat odious and offending *at the beginning.*"

Parsons thus aimed at a stronger and more complete application of the methods and policy of Queen Mary, "of good memory;" under the Spaniards if necessary, in any case under the Jesuits, and according to the newest papal fashions of vengeance and repression. The political method of Parsons, the spirit and procedure of the Jesuits, or indeed of that new papalism which they represented, were abhorrent to the old-fashioned English Roman-

ists, both to ecclesiastics and to laymen. "The old Marian priests, as a body, were somewhat suspicious of the new men. What they had learnt of them from the seminary priests (now some fourscore or more) who had come to work in England, made them apprehensive of danger. The ways and ideas of the Society were so different from anything hitherto seen in England; and then, besides, there was more than a feeling that their coming had some political meaning which would only bring more trouble and persecution on the already sorely tried flock." *

This was undoubtedly the feeling of the older clergy, who were thoroughly English in sentiment and education. This patriotic and loyal feeling was shared by the majority of Roman Catholic laymen, who were stirred up to disloyalty, if possible, by the Jesuits and their agents, or were persecuted by them if they held aloof from political and disloyal methods. The Jesuit Tichborne writes of a patriotic layman: "Sir Thomas Tresham, as a friend of the State, is holden among us for an atheist, and all others of his humour either so or worse." †

The violent party hesitated at nothing which might rid them of Elizabeth. Some of the Popes themselves possibly, King Philip, the Duke of Guise, several cardinals and nuncios and bishops, certainly, and various Jesuits, were all implicated in more than one plot to assassinate the Queen. There were innumerable plots devised or attempted against her life, between

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England," p. 55.

† Law: "Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the reign of Elizabeth."

1570 and 1603; some of them were certainly fictitious, but others were as certainly genuine. The methods of Parsons and his accomplices were wholly unscrupulous, un-English, criminal, and cowardly. These conspirators did not shrink from poison and assassination. Some of the Jesuit theologians defended regicide; and we find their teachings carried into practice by weak-headed and fanatical partizans. Within a few years, two kings of France and the heroic Prince of Orange were murdered by such instruments as these.

From all these methods and designs, the secular clergy, the Benedictines, and the great body of English Romanists stood honourably aloof. They made no concession to the Government about their beliefs, but their attitude was constitutional and loyal. They obeyed the Sovereign who was recognized by Parliament. They held that no foreign potentate had any voice in the choosing of our rulers, or any right of interference in our domestic and temporal affairs. They were loyal both to the old creeds of the Church, and to the State. Most of them were willing to resist even the Pope himself in any warlike and political attempt against the Queen or the Realm. Unfortunately, these notions did not prevail among the more active and leading Romanists; and those who held them had to suffer in the inevitable struggle between the new, militant Romanism and the maintenance of our rights to political, national, and spiritual freedom, as those rights were then practised and understood.

These were the problems which confronted Elizabeth; and, it must be owned, the situation was distressing and difficult. In spite of the

violent and unscrupulous methods of the leading papal agents, Elizabeth's advisers were exceedingly mild and patient. From the publication of the Bull, in 1570, to the year 1581, only three Romanists are claimed by Challoner as martyrs under the penal statutes. We can add the names of four others, who were executed for criminal and treasonable acts. The penal statutes themselves, at any rate so far as the death penalty was concerned, were far more rigorous in expression than in execution.

From 1581 to the destruction of the Armada, Elizabeth was fighting desperately for her life and throne, as well as for the liberty of England, against the Spaniards and the Pope. These enemies and their agents, especially the Jesuits, and the Seminary priests who were trained or influenced by them, grew more treacherous and active. Of these, as Parsons tells us in 1584, there were at least three hundred in England, and two hundred more at Rheims waiting to come over: a body of spies and incendiaries amounting to five hundred men. Of the Seminaries, especially of those established by Parsons in Spain, Cardinal d'Ossat wrote, "The object of these institutions is to instil into the minds of the missionaries the Spanish political creed; and for that, rather than the Catholic faith, were they, if necessary, to suffer martyrdom."*

Throughout the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., the Papacy was dominated by Spain, and was infected by Spanish methods of government and policy. Clement VII., as we have seen in the matter of Queen Katharine's divorce,

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England," p. 134.

was a tool and partizan of Charles V. The following Popes, until the rise of Louis XIV., were, as Archbishop Bancroft described them, "Chaplains to the King of Spain." The Jesuits, we must remember, were of Spanish origin, and they came into power while Spain dominated the Papacy. It was the object of Parsons that the new Romanist clergy in England should be "hispaniolated;" that is, made into adherents of Philip; though Philip himself was often annoyed and injured in his diplomacy by the meddling of his Jesuit allies. It is impossible to separate the political from the theological element in these missionaries and pseudo-martyrs. Indeed, as Cardinal d'Ossat puts it, so clearly and honestly, the "political creed" of these emissaries was more important to their employers than the "Catholic faith;" and therefore it is difficult to see where martyrdom, properly speaking, comes in.

As all these matters were understood clearly by the Government of Elizabeth, it is also difficult to see how they could have acted otherwise than they did, without betraying the highest interests of the nation. They never allowed religious phrases and pretexts to blind them to the political methods, aims, and nature of their Italian enemy and his Spanish masters.

The feeling of the nation ran high, in the face of these dangers and conspiracies. It was wholly in favour of the Queen; and, in 1584, a national association was formed to protect her from assassins, or to avenge her death. Mary Stuart, the cause or the pretext of continual and criminal intrigues, was more closely watched. The detection of Babington's conspiracy, in 1586, was followed by Mary's trial and condemnation;

and she was beheaded the following year, when the Spanish invasion was expected immediately, and when her presence would certainly have been dangerous to the State.

It must be remembered that Mary was deposed and expelled by her own people : that Elizabeth disliked those proceedings, and tried honestly to save Mary from the consequences of her follies and misgovernment in Scotland. Mary then began a new career as claimant or next heir to Elizabeth's crown. She was not content to wait for the succession, and she pretended to a sounder title than Elizabeth. How far she was involved personally in conspiracies is a debatable question ; that she was involved to some extent is proved abundantly. There is no doubt also that her name, her cause, and her religion were made use of by other conspirators. It was equally impossible for Elizabeth to leave her free in England, or to let her go out of the country. It would have been even more perilous for Elizabeth to acknowledge Mary as her successor.

Mary herself was persuaded to disinherit James, "considering the great obstinacy of my son in his heresy ;" and she made over her title to the King of Spain. The succession of Philip was more promising for the designs of Parsons and the Jesuits ; and they regarded the death of the unfortunate ex-Queen of Scotland as a gain to their policy, and a removal of many complications. Olivarez, the Spanish minister, wrote : "They (Parsons and Allen) do their best to convince me that it is not only no loss, but that by her death many difficulties had disappeared which could only have been removed with great labour while the enterprise was proceeding and

with still greater trouble after our Lord had given it success."*

Thus was Mary regarded by those for whom she sacrificed everything; who sacrificed her life and fortunes unscrupulously to attain, if possible, their own designs. Her principles of government, her proved incompetence, her religion, and above all her subjection to those who exploited her religion, would have made her succession to the Crown a cause of danger, of disturbance, and probably of disaster. Mary certainly knew of Babington's conspiracy, and the King of Spain approved it. He wrote: "The affair is so much in God's service that it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins be an impediment thereto."† Moreover, the Nuncio in Paris, a bishop, wrote to a cardinal, nephew of Gregory XIII., that the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne, in the interests of Mary Stuart, "have a plan for killing the Queen of England, by the hand of a Catholic, *though not one outwardly*, who is near her person." This man, or his heir, was to have 100,000 crowns, of which 50,000 were deposited with the Archbishop of Glasgow. The Nuncio added: "As to putting to death that wicked woman, I said to him [the Duke of Guise] that I will not write about it to our Lord the Pope (nor do I), nor tell your most illustrious Lordship to inform him of it; because, though I know our Lord the Pope would be glad that God should punish in any way whatever that enemy of His, still it would be unfitting that His Vicar should procure it by these means."

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England," page 125.
† Martin Hume: "Philip II. of Spain," page 201.

The failure of Babington's conspiracy, and the execution of Mary which was caused by it, were followed in 1588 by the sailing of the Armada. Before it started, Sixtus V. issued a new Bull, in which he proclaimed a crusade against Elizabeth and England. He sent his benediction to the Spanish invaders, as Alexander II. had to the Normans. As the Legate, Cardinal Allen, wrote to the English Romanists: "His Holiness confirms and renews the sentence of his predecessors against Elizabeth. He discharges you of your oath of allegiance. He expects all of you, according to your ability, to hold yourselves ready on the arrival of his Catholic Majesty's powers to join them. This if you do, your lands and goods will be assured to you."

Fortunately, the English Romanists were not exposed to the doubts and temptations which might have been caused by a Spanish landing, or a Spanish victory. They showed themselves loyal and patriotic in rallying to the Queen, and in preparing to resist invasion. Nevertheless, the head of their Church advised and ordered disloyalty, he aided our enemies with money and spiritual weapons. His Legate described the Queen in words of unpardonable grossness and scurrility. Parsons and his faction were engaged actively on the side of Philip. They were prepared to carry out the Bull of Sixtus, and to subject their country to a foreign power. They did their utmost to rouse the English Papists, and to tamper with their loyalty. They were not successful with the great body of English Roman Catholics. They did corrupt a few unhappy individuals. For instance, in 1587, Sir William Stanley, who

held the fortress of Deventer for Elizabeth, betrayed his trust and his troops by handing the place over to the Spaniards. Parsons proved his "patriotism" by writing a treatise in defence and praise of this foul treason. He also wrote a treasonable and scurrilous book against Elizabeth, as a preparation for the Armada, in which he defends the papal sentence, and describes her as "the Usurper and pretended Queen."

During all these dangerous and stormy years, from 1570 onwards, defensive measures were necessarily more frequent and severe; but, considering the length and fierceness of the struggle, the vile methods of the enemy, and the outrageous provocation, Elizabeth executed very few Papists throughout the forty-five years of her reign. The whole number of deaths in prison and on the scaffold "after the accession of Elizabeth," that is from 1558 to 1691, is given by Mr. Law, in his "Calendar of English Martyrs," as two hundred and sixty: a number considerably less than that of the executions during the three fiery years of Mary. We must remember the grave poli ical troubles and dangers which prevailed among us during that long period. It includes the great battle of Elizabeth; the desperate and alarming episode of the Gunpowder Plot; the troubles and violences of Charles I., and of Cromwell; the insidious plottings under Charles II.; the undisguised, but stupid, lawlessness and tyranny of James; the anxious period of the Revolution, and of the Jacobite conspiracies which followed it. Abroad, we have to remember the theological civil wars and massacres in France; the wars and murderings in Holland; the Thirty Years War in

Germany, with all its horrors; the crimes and intrigues of the Catholic Reaction in Poland and various parts of Austria; the repression of all political and intellectual health in Italy; the revolting cruelties or "devildoms" of Spain.

Compared with these stupendous crimes against human life, liberty, and progress, all committed in the interests of the Papacy, and many of them by the instrumentality of the Jesuits, the punishment inflicted upon the adherents of the Papacy in England is very small. To the 260 deaths between 1558 and 1691, we must add 82 executions of Romanists under Henry VIII.; making a total of 342 during a hundred and fifty years. Those who were executed after the accession of Elizabeth cannot be claimed fairly, without qualification, as martyrs for religion. Some were guilty of active treason. All of them were allied with open enemies of the State in a time of rebellion and war.

The active and responsible agents of the Papacy, whenever they were caught, professed their loyalty, and protested they had nothing to do with politics. These professions and protests were, naturally, held to be incredible and worthless, so long as the Bulls of Pius and Sixtus, which set up a state of war, which challenged the rights and liberties of the nation, which attacked the person and denied the title of the Sovereign, were not repudiated or cancelled. Merely to suspend the operation of the Bull was not an evidence of peace. These papal Bulls, and the Jesuit methods of propagating the Roman faith, that is "the Spanish political creed," were really answerable for the death of every Papist who suffered under Elizabeth, after the Bull of 1570 was published.

We may distinguish clearly, now, between the political agents of the Roman Court and those other Romanists, their dupes and victims, whose piety they mis-used; who dwelt among us peaceably, or who came among us honestly as missionaries. We may pity these emissaries of the gospel, as they imagined themselves to be: we may admire those who received and harboured them, as religious teachers; but it was impossible for the Government of Elizabeth to make any such distinction. It was forced to act as all governments must act in a time of war. The innocent have to suffer with and for the guilty. The Papacy chose to assail us by war-like and treacherous methods, using the carnal weapons of politics, and the unlawful shifts of casuistry. All the adherents of the Papacy had to risk the consequences that followed, naturally and inevitably, from these methods of attack.

The apologists and defenders of the Papacy have no right to ignore these elements in the question, when they present their case. The consequences of the Jesuitical and political methods of trying to "reduce" England recoiled, unfortunately, upon many loyal and moderate Romanists: not so much by bringing them to the scaffold, as by making their lives uneasy, by impoverishing their estates, and in some cases by dispersing their families and breaking up their homes. The loyalty and patriotism of these victims were often beyond all praise. They deserved a better cause, a more spiritual faith, and worthier guides. Their chief misfortune was that they accepted a political organization for a Church, and its intriguing or ambitious leaders for ministers of religion. They failed to see that the political methods of

the Curia were incompatible with Christianity, and that its principles are irreconcilable with patriotism and civic liberty.

Besides the Romanist laity and the survivors of the ancient clergy, there was another class of men whose fate we must consider. Of these, the Jesuits Campion and Walpole are typical examples. They were both enthusiasts, honest according to their lights, burning with zeal for their convictions, blindly obedient to their Superiors; of whose real designs and methods we can, perhaps, assume that they were wholly or partially ignorant. How far their ignorance was culpable or invincible is a dubious question, upon which we need not enter; but we can only acquit their intentions at the expense of their understandings. Campion's ending was far more heroic than Walpole's. Campion entered upon the English mission with Parsons, who was his Superior. He was caught, tried, condemned, and executed. Personally, he may not have been implicated in the methods and conspiracies of Parsons. We must hold, nevertheless, that he was morally and legally responsible for the undoubtedly treasonable designs and ways of his Superior, and for everything that was necessarily involved in furthering the papal cause while the Papacy was stirring up wars against the State and conspiracies against the Queen. Campion wrote an address to the Council, as an apology for himself and his labours, in which he set forth the spiritual and non-political nature of his mission. In the fourth clause, he says: "I never had mind, and am straitly forbid by our fathers that sent me, to deal in any respects with matters of State or policy of this realm, as those things which appertain not to my vocation, and from

which I do gladly estrange and sequester my thoughts."

As to this, we must hold either that Campion equivocated, which is difficult and shocking to believe; or that he, personally, was forbidden to deal with politics; or that Parsons and the Superiors in Rome kept him unfairly in the dark; or that the designs and methods of Parsons were not precisely those of the Superiors in Rome: in other words, that he practised "economy" with them, as with everyone else. Of this, there is sufficient proof in his own writings.

Whatever the solution, whatever the nature or motive of Campion's assertion, it could not possibly be accepted by the Government as a plea of innocence. In the second clause, Campion had written: "At the voice of our General Provost, which is to me a warrant from heaven and an oracle of Christ, I took my voyage . . . from Rome to England." Any man in those days who took the voice of the Papacy, expressed through any of its agents, especially through the Jesuit Superiors, as "a warrant from heaven and an oracle of Christ," was bound to be mistrusted by the English Government, and held to be both an enemy and a dangerous conspirator. Against this general and unreserved admission of blind obedience, no assertion of personal innocence could be of any value or credibility. The Bull of Pius V. was sufficient of itself to stultify any active agent of the Papacy in England. In addition to this, the Government was thoroughly well informed about the political designs and methods of Parsons and his employers. They were never deceived about the men and methods with which they had to deal.

When Campion was asked at his examination "whether he doeth at the present acknowledge Her Majesty to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretensed Queen, and deprived, and in possession of her crown only *de facto?*" he answered that "this question dependeth upon the fact of Pius Quintus, whereof he is not to judge, and therefore refuseth further to answer."

No Government could possibly accept such an answer as a proof of loyalty, or as anything but a challenge to its own authority and rights. Campion was, therefore, charged in that he did "at Rome and Reims, and in diverse other places, in parts beyond the seas, falsely, maliciously, and traitorously conspire, imagine, contrive, and compass, not only to deprive, cast down, and disinherit the said Queen from her regal state, title, power, and rule of her realm of England, but also to bring and put the same Queen to death and final destruction, and to excite, raise, and make sedition in the said realm." He was charged also with intending to alter the government of the realm, and the establishment of religion; as well as with inducing "divers strangers and aliens" to invade the realm and make war against the Queen. On all these charges, Campion was found guilty. With the knowledge at the disposal of the Government, there could be no other verdict. The sentence is justified completely by the documents at our disposal, and especially by the writings of those for whom Campion was working, however blindly. His defence was that "if our religion do make us traitors, we are worthy to be condemned."

Campion may not have been personally or knowingly a traitor; but it was precisely his

"religion," as he was deceived in it, that is "the Spanish political creed" of his employers, which made him first the tool, and then the victim, of Englishmen who certainly were treasonable, and of foreigners with whom we were at war. "It was they who fastened round his neck the fatal cord, and gave the Government some grounds, at least, to suspect his complicity in treasonable attempts. His very death was used by his friends as a furtherance to their endeavours to subjugate England to a foreign Power; and while using other and unworthy means to bring about the conversion of England, took credit to themselves for Campion's apostolical spirit and steadfastness."*

The political Jesuits, like Parsons, covered their own evil designs and made their own profit out of the genuine piety and zeal of dupes like Campion. In this way, the Jesuits manage to possess the wisdom of the serpent, and to profess the nature of the dove: by dividing those qualities among different persons; appropriating the virtues of some individuals for the benefit and reputation of the whole Society; ignoring all that is dubious and bad in other individuals, and attempting to conceal it under the blindness of the ignorant. This combination can hardly have been intended by the Master. By such methods, the moral law can be evaded, and the Sermon on the Mount explained away.

It was impossible for Campion himself, it was impossible for the Government of Elizabeth, it is equally impossible for an historian, to disentangle the "religion" of subordinate Jesuits from the politics and practices of those Superiors

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England," pp. 83-4.

to whom they acknowledged a blind obedience; making themselves, according to their principles, "like a staff in a man's hand," or "as a corpse" in the hands of living men.

To regard the orders of the Papacy "as a warrant from heaven and as an oracle of Christ;" to be certain about the Pope's authority, and to be uncertain about the Queen's right and title; could not be accepted in those days as a satisfactory and sufficient proof of loyalty. Moreover, when the Pope had verbally deposed the Queen, roused her subjects so far as he could against her, and engaged in active warfare against the realm, those Englishmen who favoured the papal cause, and acknowledged the Pope's authority, could not escape being regarded by the Government as agents of an enemy who was in arms against us. Father Southwell was condemned under an Act which ordained that all English subjects, born after Elizabeth's accession, who took Roman Orders, and who entered into and remained within the realm, were traitors, and were to suffer the penalties of treason. After the Bull of Pius V., and while the Papacy was at war with our Government, it is impossible, without ignoring the most essential facts, to maintain that such persons were "condemned for the mere crime of Catholic priesthood." Under the circumstances which prevailed in England from 1570 and onwards, a complete acknowledgment of the papal authority and claims was incompatible with true obedience to the civil power.

The suspicions and perplexities of the Government, in every single case, were aggravated by those methods of equivocation to which the Jesuits and their pupils had recourse. The

notorious Garnett, for instance, swore, "upon his priesthood," that he had not written a certain letter. The letter was intercepted, and shown to him: whereupon he said, "He had done nothing but that he might lawfully do;" adding coolly that it was "evil done" of his judges to ask him, when they had the letters. "To these and similar avowals, I ascribe his execution," Lingard writes with his invariable honesty. It was, indeed, impossible for Garnett's judges to believe anything he said. Tresham, his accomplice, and his pupil in equivocation, first owned that Garnett knew of the Powder Plot: then he retracted, and said he had only confessed this "to avoid ill usage;" and he added, "upon his salvation," that he had not "seen Garnett for sixteen years." Nevertheless, it was proved that Garnett and Tresham had been together constantly while the Plot was hatching, and even a few days before it was discovered. Garnett's evidence was little better than a tissue of misleading words. Unfortunately for him, the Government had proofs that his evidence on oath was not trustworthy.

These principles and practices were not peculiar to Garnett. They were allowed, and to a large extent devised, by members of his Society. Parsons was a master in these arts; and we find him practising them not only against the Queen's Government, but against all those Romanists who opposed his schemes, and even in some cases against his Superiors and the Pope himself. Father Gerard protested in his examination that he acknowledged Elizabeth "as the true Governor and Queen of England," in spite of the excommunication. He added afterwards, to his friends, that in saying this he

knew the operation of the sentence had been suspended, "*till such time as its execution became possible.*" Father Southwell held "that no man is bound to answer every man that asketh him unless he were a competent judge."

For those who accepted the Pope's deposing sentence, it was easy and natural to argue, when it suited them, that none of Elizabeth's judges were technically and legally competent. Such theories as these are practical anarchy: and Parsons went on to argue that heretical and apostate rulers, that is rulers who do not acknowledge the Pope, "fall at once from all power and dignity," even before any sentence be passed against them "by the supreme pastor and judge."

More than this, there were Jesuit theologians who taught that "It is a probable opinion that it is no mortal sin to bring a false accusation for the sake of preserving our honour;" and what was probable to this writer was certain to Parsons, if we may judge by his correspondence and his methods of slandering opponents, especially the unfortunate Secular and Appellant clergy. Mariana, Bellarmine, and other theologians allowed regicide and lauded those who practised it. Bellarmine says that "Heretics condemned by the Church may be afflicted with temporal punishments and even death." He only qualifies his opinion by adding, "if the Catholic party be the stronger." In that case, might gives the full right to kill; just as, in the case of Elizabeth's deposition, the sentence was "deferred" until it could be carried out. Bellarmine also argued in the case of Garnett and the Powder Plot, that "it was not lawful for him to declare a treasonable secret to an

heretical king, who had no reverence for the sacrament of confession, and who could have constrained him by torture to declare the person who had confessed the criminal design. Upon this Bishop Andrewes in his reply caustically remarks: 'Therefore it follows from this argument that it is lawful and justifiable to blow up such a king with gunpowder;' and (he might have added) that fear of punishment is a sufficient excuse for disobeying the moral law."*

It must be remembered that these extreme opinions were not professed by all the Jesuits, that they were denounced by the majority of English Romanists, and were condemned by ecclesiastical authority. Nevertheless, they were held and acted on by some Jesuits. In spite of condemnations, they prevailed; because censures were evaded, and objections were refined upon, by later casuists. In view of all these facts, the answer of the Jesuit emissaries to the English Romanists, when they first entered the country, and were accused of coming "for matters of State, not for religion," is not worth very much as evidence of their real principles and intentions. We must judge of the denial by their practices, and by their acknowledged economy in the use of words and oaths, as well as by so much that is revealed to us in their correspondence.

To the accusation of meddling in politics, "The Jesuits said they had only one answer to make. They made oath there and then before all the assembly that 'their coming was only apostolical, to treat of matters of religion in truth and simplicity and to attend to the

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England," page 248.

gaining of souls, without any pretence or knowledge of matters of State.' In case they fell into the hands of the State they would defend themselves on oath, and challenge anyone to prove anything against them ; and if the matter went, as was likely, by mere conjecture, they would bring conjecture against conjecture, and probability against probability. They argued, if they were political agents they must be sent to Catholics; and what Catholics would listen to them, or give credence to what they said, if, after the solemn oath they had just taken, they were to be found dabbling in politics?"* To do the majority of English Romanists justice, they did not "listen to them." Parsons was one of those who made this oath. We have seen how he understood his own words ; how he and others like him acted upon them.

The unfortunate English Romanists were most cruelly deceived and ill-used by Parsons and his accomplices. Into the details of that sordid quarrel we need not enter ; though they must have influenced the Government considerably, and have helped it to understand the class of men with whom it had to deal in the Jesuits and the Seminary priests. The aim of Parsons was to get sole authority over all the Romanist clergy in England, and to manage all the funds raised by the English Papists. The resistance to these plans was great, and the quarrel extended to Rome, as well as to all the English colleges abroad. The calumnies, the equivocations, the treachery shown upon all sides, and the tyranny exercised by Parsons upon all who thwarted him, form an interesting

* Taunton : "History of the Jesuits in England," page 56.

study in Roman methods, and are a strange example of quarrelling in the face of a common danger.

So bitter were the Romanist factions, and so fatal were the "apostolical" methods of the Jesuits, that the old Marian clergy threatened at one time to hand over Parsons to the Government; and he was obliged to escape out of the country. At a later time, we find Parsons corresponding with Cecil, slandering and betraying his opponents to the English Government. One of these opponents, Watson, a Secular priest, was literally betrayed into the hands of the Government by Garnett, and executed for his share in the Bye Plot. These unedifying transactions were not calculated to make the English Government think better of the Pope and his devotees.

Elizabeth and her advisers thus had to deal, not only with an enemy who made and fomented war against the realm, but with an impalpable enemy whose principles virtually destroyed the foundations of society and the fabric of civil government. No oath, no engagement, made by the Jesuits and their accomplices, could be received as binding; no evidence given by them could be believed. Their appeals to their Priesthood were not sacred to them, nor their declarations made with their dying breath. They utilized the confessional to encourage plotters, and they misused its privileges to shelter conspirators and traitors. They asserted the right of the Pope to depose heretical sovereigns, and of the Pope's agents to murder them; and they shrunk from no methods of carrying these theories into practice. Individual Papists, even Jesuits, may have been innocent

of all these opinions and practices; but the Government was forced, by those who were guilty, to act as though every Papist might hold these opinions, with all their consequences.

Nevertheless, the state of Romanists in England was much better than we should imagine from many so-called "Records" and other partizan accounts. We read of High Mass being celebrated with great pomp, and of large congregations being assembled for services and sermons. A pilgrimage was made openly and even ostentatiously to Holywell, near Flint, by thirty persons who started from Buckinghamshire. Priests were not hunted about continually like vermin, and slain off-hand when they were caught. Their occupation and their residence were generally well known; and they were seldom disturbed unless the Government heard rumours of some definite plot, or had information about the movements of some notorious and dangerous conspirator. Many, even of these, were caught, and were sent out of the country unharmed, but with a warning not to enter it again.

Elizabeth herself was appealed to as an arbitrator by the Seculars in their conflict against the tyranny and tricks of Parsons. A deputation of them appeared before her at Court, and begged for her good offices in Rome. "The results of the appellant controversy were undoubtedly of national importance. The Kingdom owed, perhaps, more than is generally admitted to the Appellant priests for the failure of the later Spanish attempts, and for the peaceful accession of James. By their firm resistance to a policy of aggression and violence, and their known readiness to divulge any treasonable pro-

jects, they thwarted the Spanish faction at every point. The views which they were the first to broach in opposition to the deposing power, and which ultimately prevailed among the [English] clergy in general, were at least indirectly a gain to the country on the side of liberty and peace."*

When Elizabeth was dying, the Secular clergy signed a protestation of their loyalty to the Queen, which does honour both to their patriotism and to their religious integrity: "For as we are most ready to shed our blood in defence of her Majesty and our country, so we will rather lose our lives than infringe the lawful authority of Christ's Catholic Church." The signatories, in writing thus, were honest and patriotic. How far they were logical and clear-sighted is another question. Their declaration, as regards the Queen, cannot be reconciled with a full acceptance of the deposing Bull, or with an unreserved acknowledgment of the papal claims.

In these matters, the principles and attitude of Parsons must be owned to be far more logical and consistent with the papal theory. That theory, if it be carried out, is, in reality, not consistent with nationalism, with patriotism, or with perfect allegiance to any civil power. Parsons, as we have seen, did not recognise any of these human claims and limitations. He could not be censured, by anyone who upholds the rights of conscience, if he had asserted his principles in an honourable way, and had accepted their consequences in a Christian spirit; as the Quakers did, with finer heroism, in their tremendous battle. Parsons chose, however, to

* Law: "Conflict of Jesuits aad Seculars."

do neither. He persuaded himself by sophistries to use methods and to encourage practices for which no defence is possible, which are equally destructive in the end to religion and to civil government, which are bound to corrupt social and individual morality.

There is little difference, either in principle, in procedure, or in results, between the methods of Parsons and the methods of a modern anarchist. The ethics and casuistry of Parsons are, indeed, more deliberately and systematically corrupting. Even our own theories of toleration are not extended to anarchical principles and practices. We cannot fairly blame Elizabeth and her Government for dealing sternly with those who made war upon their country, and upon society itself, by such methods as Parsons used and sanctioned. We have not ourselves any remedy but force in dealing with such men and such principles.

In the matter of toleration, we must remember that our standard was very different from the standard of the sixteenth century. No party, in those days, understood or really desired toleration, in our meaning of the word. They all wanted supremacy, as a means of repressing the beliefs of others. The attempts at a partial toleration, as in France and Germany, probably caused in the end more suffering and bloodshed than they averted. Elizabeth's expedient of a State Church, with a rigid exterior conformity, but with little interference about opinions, unless they resulted in disorderly or treasonable acts, was perhaps the best solution possible for the times and problems with which she had to deal. On the whole, she carried out her policy with great moderation, and with greater tact. She

cannot be blamed for the mistakes of those who followed her, nor for the severity and caution with which she repressed extremists of every sort, Puritans as well as Papists. The extreme Papists, and their unlawful methods, are answerable for the worst sufferings which befel the moderate English Romanists.

Elizabeth's policy must be judged finally by the greatness of her achievement; by the vast difference between the weak, disunited country she received from Mary, and the prosperous, contented, patriotic England she handed on to James. In no country, whether it went through a Reformation or through a more violent Catholic Reaction, was there so little bloodshed and suffering in the name of religion: and, we may add, no ruler, even in that stormy period, had graver difficulties to meet, or more dangerous, unscrupulous, and numerous enemies to overcome. She left her country stronger and more courageous than it had ever been. She gave her people faith in themselves and in their destinies; she indicated the lines which those destinies were to follow, and some of the methods by which they were to be fulfilled. "Out of the forty years of struggle a potent empire had emerged, determined to choose its own form of faith, and able successfully to resist all dictation from the foreigner, even though its degenerate sovereign had forgotten the dignified traditions of Elizabeth."*

* Martin Hume: "Treason and Plot."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Stuarts and the Revolution.

THE great battle with Philip was really ended by the defeat and wreck of the Armada. Elizabeth had not only saved her own country, but she proved to all Europe the weakness and incompetence of Spain. These truths, however, plain as they are to ourselves, as we look back, were not seen by many of the actors in those great events. The warlike policy of Philip was continued, after his defeat in 1588; though a great deal more was planned and threatened by him than the Spanish resources could achieve. Parsons was his accomplice and instigator in more than one projected invasion between 1589 and 1603.

Elizabeth, it was evident, could not be dispossessed by treason or rebellion. She had placed her "chiefest strength and safeguard," under God, "in the loyal hearts and good will" of her subjects; and she had earned the gratitude of a "thankful people." Nevertheless, the struggle for Roman Catholic ascendancy went on, and it was waged over the succession to the Crown. The Scotch and English Courts were seething with intrigues. James played with every party in turn, and made large promises to them all. Much was expected from him by the Romanists, and many hopes were built

upon the sympathies of Anne of Denmark. James was, in reality, duped, used, and put aside by Parsons and his Jesuit agents, as Mary Stuart had been before. Both sovereigns and "the Irish savages," as Parsons described those who suffered much for him, were pawns in the great game of the Society; to "be encouraged by some trifling help in money or arms."

The real hopes and policy of the Jesuits were all founded on a Spanish conquest, and on their subjugation of England by means of a Spanish or an hispaniolated ruler. The Jesuits plotted for this, "at the expense of England's independence." "They carefully enmeshed Mary Stuart in the toils, until she had solemnly disinherited her son for heresy, and made Philip of Spain her heir." Then they disseminated throughout Europe the notion of Philip's descent from John of Gaunt, so that he might claim the Crown himself, or hand on the claim to a tool who would be dependent on themselves. There was to be no "huddling up," as Parsons described it: his policy was to be "Thorough." The monastic properties were to be disgorged, and placed under the control of the Society: "There was to be no political paltering with that question, as there had been in Mary's time; and 'some good, sound manner of Inquisition' must be established. It is plain to see that the only Catholic England with which Parsons would be contented was one modelled on Catholic Spain:"* though, in the matter of an Inquisition he wavered between the Roman and Spanish models, or something between the two which might suit England better. His

* Martin Hume: "Treason and Plot."

notions, at any rate, were clear and logical, if we grant his premisses. Nothing less is honestly compatible with a complete submission to the claims and principles of the Papacy.

To the papal claims and principles, both toleration and moderation are equally detestable and ridiculous. Father Tichborne rejoiced in what he describes as the "persecutions" in England; that is, the troubles forced upon the English Romanists by the methods of their violent and criminal representatives abroad. He dreaded, above all things, liberty of conscience, as leading probably to peace and settlement. This is a high tribute to the wisdom of Elizabeth's policy and patriotism, as conceived at her accession, and only frustrated by the warlike methods of the Papacy and its unscrupulous representatives.

Practically, however, the methods of Parsons were not workable. Whenever politics are obtruded into religious affairs, religion is made subservient to political necessities. Parsons and his Superiors had but one object, which is well summed up by Mr. Martin Hume. We may abhor some of the methods which they allowed to themselves in trying to attain it; but, assuming the honesty of their intentions, the object in itself, theoretically, was high and noble. Its defect is, that it ignored human nature, and practical affairs, and the imperfections of all human agencies. It would have violated the inherent rights and necessities of men; and would have caused far more evil and misery than it aimed at curing. "Dominion of the State was what they [the Jesuit faction] aimed at, in which the whole national life was to be bound up with and subjected to the sole

over-lordship of Christ—of whom they were the officers. Kings, potentates, even Popes were to be dwarfed finally by the rule of Christ alone; and when Jesuits served kings, as they served Philip, it was only for the purpose of using his power to humble in the long run the caste to which he belonged. No doubt the Dominican order had similar dreams, with the Inquisition as its instrument in Spain, but the Secular sovereigns had been able to turn this great engine to their own ends. The Society of Jesus was founded on principles specially devised to prevent this in its own case; and it was perfectly consistent with those principles in utterly rejecting and opposing the efforts of the Secular and regular clergy to arrive at a *modus vivendi* in England which might leave the question of Catholic Supremacy in the country to be decided in the future."

In pursuance of this ideal, the Jesuits were ready to sacrifice everything which governed the affections and motives of other men. Father Creswell, for instance, wrote that he was "so free from personal or national bias in the matter, that if I heard that the entire destruction of England was for the greater glory of God and the welfare of Christianity, I should be glad of its being done."

These extreme theories, which are the logical conclusion from the papal premisses, ruined the papal cause in England, and weakened it everywhere. In France, the League was defeated because it was seen to be unpatriotic and anti-national. In England, these principles made the Romanists feared and hated with a violence which requires neither explanation nor excuse. Even the great majority of English Romanists

were alienated by the un-English methods and principles of the Jesuits, and by their advocacy of a Spanish sovereign. The Pope himself saw at last that Philip's zeal for the Church was a cloak for Spanish aggrandisement. A similar reason always kept the French Government from joining with the Pope and the Spaniards in any serious hostilities against Elizabeth.

All these mundane reasons and causes united in the end to bring about the succession of James the First. The Jesuits, in fact, misread English feeling completely, even among their co-religionists. The Romanist exiles were wholly out of touch with their countrymen at home, both Papists and Protestants. The Kings of Spain were misled by Parsons, and by all those dreamers and theorizers who ignored human nature, and practical affairs as they really were.

Elizabeth was true to the end in her broad, moderate, and healing policy, so far as extremists of either side allowed her to act freely. The narrower Puritans were as troublesome to her as the disloyal Papists. The Cecils always stood for a moderate and conciliating policy, both in religion and in foreign affairs, between two fanatical extremes. The intrigues and violence of the extreme Puritan politicians, such as Essex, only brought disaster and defeat upon their authors. The English Romanists, apart from the Spanish faction, hoped much from the accession of James. The majority would have been satisfied with a small measure of toleration; and they would have been glad to purchase it, according to the French precedent, by the expulsion of the Jesuits, and a renunciation of all political attempts to restore their abused

and forfeited supremacy. Such compromises were resisted by the Jesuits and their supporters. James had only too much reason to know how worthless and unreliable the engagements of this faction were; and, as long as they had any influence over the English Papists, he was not able, however willing he might have been otherwise, to relax the penal statutes.

The disappointment caused by this policy was, of course, utilized by the extremists; and the results were the Main and the Bye Plots, and finally the Gunpowder Treason. This was followed by a new oath of allegiance, which was refused by all those English Papists who accepted the guidance of the Jesuits. The oath asserted the lawful right and title of King James. It repudiated the deposing power of the Pope, his right to make or to cause invasions, to release English subjects from their allegiance, and to stir up rebellion. A further clause was added, in which everyone taking the oath was made to swear that "I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position; that Princes, which may be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever."

The papal claim to absolve from oaths, and all equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation in using and interpreting the words, were also repudiated. The spiritual authority of the Pope was not mentioned in this oath. No detail of the Christian faith, even in any peculiar Roman form of it, was censured. The oath was aimed only at certain temporal claims of the Papacy, which were clearly irreconcilable with patriotism and the rights of the civil

power. Bellarmine, however, pronounced that this oath could not be taken lawfully by Romanists; and, granting the papal authority and claims, he was right. Blackwell, the arch-priest, a tool of the Jesuits, held that it could be taken "in present circumstances:" that is, he admitted an equivocation, although those who accepted the oath swore to observe it "according to the plain and common sense" of the words, and expressly repudiated equivocation. It was really hopeless to deal with people whose words and oaths could not be trusted; who, according to their own principles and practice, could not be bound by any form of engagement.

Parsons died in 1610. His "continual violations of truth and justice and honesty" are commented upon with great fairness and severity by Tierney, the Roman Catholic historian. These characteristics, as well as his despotic temper and unscrupulous methods, are plain enough even from his casual appearances in this summary of Church affairs. He was undoubtedly the greatest of all the English Jesuits. In one point of view, he was the most honest, or at least the most consistent, because he had the logic and courage of his opinions. He never shrank from carrying out thoroughly, logically, to their utmost consequences, those principles which he understood so clearly, and accepted so unreservedly. We may condemn his methods, and abhor his notions of "patriotism," as "The Month" describes his utter indifference to all the claims and rights of England. Nevertheless, as the principles of equivocation and assassination were accepted by his Society, it is missing the point to blame him personally for doing what he believed was lawful; that is, for equivocating,

and tampering with schemes of murder. All our blame should be reserved for those principles and institutions which can so deceive men by sophistries and syllogisms, as to persuade them to outrage the evangelical and moral law.

Parsons was a magnificent and typical Jesuit: a splendid personification of the principles of Popery. He caused untold misery and loss to his own sect and party in England. He did a great deal to strengthen that courage and patriotism which the reign of Elizabeth produced. He stands out in history as a warning to Englishmen, by showing them how Jesuit ethics and papal theology work out in practice, when they are applied consistently. Everything that we abhor and condemn in Parsons follows naturally and logically from the system of Roman casuistry, and from accepting the papal claims as they have been continuously issued, asserted, and explained by the Popes themselves in their official utterances. Fortunately, the great bulk of Romanists are neither logical nor zealous. Parsons was both, in an eminent degree; and we should be very grateful to him, as one of the truest exponents of the papal system and principles. The most useful way of proving our gratitude is to take care that his example and teachings be neither forgotten nor misunderstood. The memory of them is indispensable in forming an opinion about the Papacy; and an understanding of them will help us materially to decide upon our attitude towards the spirit, methods, and policy of the papal Court.

Under Charles I., the majority of English Romanists sided, naturally, with the King, as against the Parliament; and, as we must own, the Irish Papists had as much right as the

Scotch Presbyterians to get all the advantage they could out of our troubles. Some of the Jesuit faction, however, were not friendly to the Court. Their Spanish sympathies led them to dislike or to distrust Henrietta Maria. No doubt, they were pleased and filled with hope by the overthrow of the bishops, and the alterations in the national Church. Moreover, they played, as usual, to be on the winning side. Some of them, certainly, intrigued with the Puritan leaders. Parsons' "Book of the Succession" enunciated doctrines which were very convenient to the deposers and executioners of Charles; and parts of his volume were reprinted and circulated by order of Parliament.

A Jesuit called Netterville "was on terms of great intimacy with Cromwell, often dining at his table and playing chess with him."* These strange hospitalities occurred in Ireland, where the Jesuits appear to have intrigued against the Royalists, the Irish bishops, and the Nuncio. The latter says that "the Jesuits, as usual devoted to their own interests, have declared against us." The Jesuits are accused of having betrayed and deserted Charles, and of having staked everything on Cromwell, hoping for "great matters from him when he shall make himself King." The readers and admirers of "John Inglesant" will remember that this was the policy of the Jesuit, Hall, in Mr. Shorthouse's masterly and accurate romance.

Quarrels between the Jesuits and the other Romanists went on as usual under Charles II. Perhaps we may still find evidence which will throw more light upon the plots and counter-

* Taunton: "The Jesuits in England."

plots of that bewildering time. For what is called "the Popish Plot," twenty-six persons were executed, and four died in prison. Thirty were condemned, and then reprieved. The numbers of the Jesuits in England, during the civil war, are given at 335; and during a particular year, namely, 1645, one of "extreme need," their revenue is calculated at £3,916 2s. 6d.; worth, in current value, about £25,000. They had two noviciates, and they carried on other works and institutions, more or less publicly. Among their enterprises, had been a manufactory of soap, in Westminster. Their hopes and ambitions ran so high, when James succeeded, that they overshot the mark, ruining their patron and their own cause.

James and his wife were crowned privately by a Roman ecclesiastic, and anointed with holy oil from Rheims. The Jesuits not only alarmed the Protestants, and alienated them from James, but they showed bitter and unwise hostility to other Orders, and to all Romanists who were not of their own faction. As a Romanist complains, the Jesuits "have ten thousand mouths beside their own to open against any person whom interest or passion persuade them to persecute."* The Jesuits, in fact, made a last effort to carry out Parsons' "Memorial for the Reformation of England." James put himself blindly into their hands, against the advice of wiser Romanists, and of the Pope himself. When Innocent XI. refused a cardinal's hat to Father Petre, James was instructed by his Jesuit advisers to say that "he could be a good Roman Catholic and yet separate himself from the Court of Rome."

* Quoted by Taunton: "The Jesuits in England."

The King intruded Romanists into offices of authority and trust, both in the public service, in the university, and in the army. For these purposes, he was obliged to over-ride the law, by asserting and exercising a dispensing power. If this claim had been allowed, there would have been no limit to his autocracy. Some of the bishops, in spite of their extravagant loyalty and their theories of Divine Right, were patriotic enough to resist the dispensing claim; and their attitude brought on that Revolution which they were not all so consistent in supporting. It is almost incomprehensible to us that the Non-Jurors could not distinguish between their loyalty to the Crown, and their oaths to a person who had forfeited it by breaking all his own engagements.

The Protestant Nonconformists, to their great honour, refused the King's offers of toleration; not merely, as is too often asserted, because the Popish Dissenters were included in the benefit, but because the grant of Toleration was illegal, since it depended on the King's arbitrary dispensation, and not upon a lawful measure obtained through Parliament. By this conduct, they showed their political wisdom, though it was tainted in many cases with theological bigotry and rancour. We may also add that a pretended "toleration of liberty of conscience on the part of the Prince" was among the methods recommended by the Jesuit Contzen, for re-establishing Roman Catholicism among nations that were in such circumstances as England was under James II.

The result of James' tyranny and blundering was that the throne was declared vacant; because the King "having endeavoured to subvert the

constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the original compact between him and the people, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, had abdicated the government." The representatives of the Commons went on to say that "Experience had shown it to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Protestant religion to be governed by a popish prince." Thus our Monarchy was established upon a broader and more constitutional basis; and our constitution itself passed through another stage in its natural and logical development, gaining strength, making both for stability and freedom, by ridding itself of ecclesiastical interference and intrigue.

The political schemes of the Jesuits were shattered to pieces by the Revolution Settlement. Their blundering intrigues led up to the exclusion of all Papists from the throne, and ended in the establishment of a Protestant Succession. That succession, and the order of it, depends on the Act of Settlement, by which alone our Sovereigns have any right or title to the Crown. The King's Declaration had been imposed to exclude, if possible, a Papist from the throne. It was not intended to be a theological document; nor was it drawn up for the sake of expressing any speculative opinions about the Eucharist. It was framed solely to protect the Regal Office and the Royal Supremacy against the papal authority and claims, as well as to guard the Sovereign's mind and person against the open or secret influence of the Roman Court. The experiences of the nation under Charles II. and James II. prove

that its fears of Roman influence were not imaginary.

The course of this history will have shown that some kind of security was needed; but also that any oath, so far as Roman Catholics are concerned, may be wholly ineffectual. Until those principles of equivocation, which we have seen obtruded into our national affairs, be denounced, condemned, and altogether repudiated, we must agree with Cardinal Vaughan that any Declaration, "as a guarantee for the religion of the Crown," so far as a Romanist is concerned, "is a sham" and "is next to worthless." This is the conclusion which must be drawn after an exhaustive and impartial enquiry into English Roman Catholic affairs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is gratifying that Cardinal Vaughan should accept this historical conclusion, and acknowledge the truth of it so unblushingly.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Society of Friends, and the Suppression of the Jesuits.

THAT measure of toleration, which the loyal English Romanists had so vainly desired, which James the Second had tried to give them illegally and perhaps dishonestly, was granted by Parliament, under William III., to all Dissenters except the Romanists. It extended only to religious beliefs and practices, and many civil disabilities and privileges were still maintained by means of theological tests. The Romanists were excluded from the Toleration Act, and were liable to the Penal Statutes. For this exclusion, they had to thank, in the first place, that evil reputation which the political, anti-English, and unprincipled methods of the Jesuits had brought upon their whole body, and for which many excellent and loyal persons had to suffer.

Next, the Romanists, as a body, were suspected, naturally enough, of sympathising with the banished family. The Pretenders belonged, even ostentatiously, to the papal Church: Rome was the centre of their activity, where they found an asylum and gathered followers, whence they received encouragement and material aid. The attempts of James II. in Ireland, and of the two Pretenders in Scotland, showed that Romanists in the British Isles were willing to

fight for the Stuarts, and that they connected their religious interests with the fortunes of the excluded branch.

The causes of national independence, of civil, political, and religious liberty, as expressed by the Revolution of 1688, were only secured by the genius and victories of Marlborough; and the Protestant Succession itself was not unassailable until the Jacobites were beaten finally in 1746. After that time, but not until then, there was no more political danger to be expected from the English Romanists. Their history was quiet and uneventful; and, in about thirty years, the question of their fuller Relief began to be urged in Parliament.

For the distinction made, in 1689, between the English Papists and all other Nonconformists, there were reasons which had nothing to do with theological intolerance or hatred. The English Romanists, by acknowledging the Pope, were necessarily on a different footing from all other Dissenters. They were not merely a sect within the nation, which differed theologically from the Established Church. They were that, of course; but they were also a body of men who acknowledged the claims and jurisdiction of a foreign power. That power had been a dangerous and unresting enemy to the State, and to the whole spirit of our institutions, for more than a century. Its adherents, both British and foreign, were still, under William III., opposing the Government and the wishes of the majority.

It was for these reasons that the Papists were excluded from the Toleration Act of 1689, and were included in the severe Penal Act of 1700. The intention of that measure was political, and not theological. It was not passed in a blind

hatred of Popery, but as a protection against those who, rightly or wrongly, were held to be enemies of the Government.

The populace were not so far wrong when they coupled the Pope and the Pretender, or when they connected each of them with designs against the religion and liberties of the nation. The papal system cannot avoid mingling religion and politics in an inextricable confusion, to the gross injury of both. Indeed, in the past, it has too often encouraged that confusion, and utilized it for its own political advantage, not hesitating to sacrifice, in the pursuit of such schemes, its most loyal supporters. That was the fate brought upon English Romanists by the Bulls of Pius and Sixtus, and also by the attitude which the Roman authorities prescribed in the matter of the oath to James the First. Toleration was not won, but was only hindered and made impossible, by these principles and methods. Those who persisted in them were excluded from toleration for one hundred and forty years after all other Dissenters had obtained it.

Toleration for all Protestant Dissenters was really won by the Christian methods, the passive resistance, the unconquerable goodness, the orderly and blameless conduct of the Society of Friends. The great battle, if we may venture to describe it so, of George Fox and his disciples lasted about forty years. In the course of it, 13,000 Friends were imprisoned in Great Britain; 322 of them died in gaol; many were sold into slavery, and transported; all of them were impoverished by fines, by damaged properties, and by interrupted business. Nothing could overcome their invincible patience. If they were

ejected through the doors of their Meeting, they climbed in again through the windows. If the walls were pulled down, they meditated among the ruins. Neither altars, nor candles, nor vestments, nor even books were required for their spiritual worship. The Inner Light shone clear to them in every time and place; it could not be hidden by darkness or disturbance: "Nothing plotting, naught caballing, unmischievous synod! convocation without intrigue! parliament without debate!" as Lamb describes them. Against such Christians as these, there could be no effectual coercion. Their high principles and their faultless behaviour gained the cause of Toleration, though at an heroical expenditure of life and suffering. No bloodshed, however, can be laid to their charge: they planned no invasions, and plotted no assassinations. They never slandered their foes or their allies. They had no political ambitions, no lust of power. They were soiled by no intrigues. Instead of equivocating, they declined all oaths; and their affirmations were inviolable.

There is no more striking contrast, in principles and methods, than between Parsons and George Fox. There can be no question which of the two men lived, thought, spoke, and laboured more literally in the spirit of the New Testament, or more simply according to the precepts of the Master. Even in this world, Fox and his disciples had their reward. Their victory was as conspicuous as the failure of Parsons and all his methods.

The popular estimation in which the Friends and the Jesuits were held respectively is equally creditable to the sound instincts of the nation. The early Friends stood for that which was

honest, simple, truthful, honourable, and worthy of the fullest confidence in every sphere of human intercourse ; and, as a body, the English Quakers have never forfeited that reputation. It still remains to be won by several denominations of professing Christians.

The way chosen by the Friends is the only way in which a nation can be lawfully "subjected to the sole over-lordship of Christ." To attempt it by intriguing or by fighting for the "dominion of the state" is to violate the first principles of Christ's kingdom. An apparent victory, gained by the vilest methods of this world, could only result in the loss or corruption of all genuine Christianity. Such a victory would be the most irreparable of all disasters for religion.

The political methods of the Jesuits, their incessant quarrels with other ecclesiastics, their incurable meddling with affairs of State, their dubious reputation with regard to finance and trade, and many other accusations, in which no doubt both fact and imagination had a share, wearied out most Roman Catholic Governments towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Society was suppressed by Clement XIV. in 1773. The Popes had long felt that they possessed, if not a master, yet a dangerous and unreliable servant, in the Jesuit organization. Innocent XI. had tried to end the Society by forbidding it to enlist more novices. Many Popes had wished to restrain or to reform it ; but there was neither method, nor vigour, nor continuity in their proceedings. "It required the calm determination of so firm a Pontiff as Clement XIV. to do the deed. He saw that the time had come when the Society no longer

served the Church. Hence he was bound to consider the interest of the whole body of the faithful before that of a mere Society. In the past, other religious orders had been suppressed when they had become a hindrance. The Jesuits were in no way necessary to the divine mission of the Church, under whose name they had sought their own ends. So, after a long enquiry, over which he would not be hurried by the clamour of the Bourbon Courts, after scrupulously weighing the whole case, he issued, on 21st July, 1773, his famous Breve, *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, and suppressed the Jesuits."*

The Pope was attacked in the most scurrilous way by Jesuit lampoons and slanderers, according to the approved methods of the Society. His motives, his character, his origin, his family were all traduced. "I do not repent of what I have done," he said: "I did not resolve upon the measure until I had well weighed it. I would do it again; but this will be my death-blow." He died, in fact, a year and two months afterwards, declining mysteriously in the vigour of his age. After he was struck down, he said: "When a man goes to the trenches, he must expect a cannon-ball." To the physician, who was baffled by his complaint, he said: "You will find it described in the 91st Psalm, as 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness.'" To others, who asked if he did not suspect certain people of having attempted his life, he answered: "Do you not know that my name is Silence?"

Clement XIV. may be numbered among those benevolent and reforming sovereigns of the eighteenth century, who tried in vain to amend

* Taunton: "History of the Jesuits in England."

and serve a political and social order that was past saving. He was respected by his subjects for his excellent and honest administration. He avoided all nepotism, that persistent and suspicious habit of the papal dynasties. He used to say, "that to render *Nepotism* odious, he had taken Benedict XIV. for his model." He was a scholar, as well as a statesman; and his Letters bear witness to his cultivated and kindly nature. They also show his admiration for England, as well as his remarkable knowledge of our institutions. "The English have principles to go on," he said; "and therefore with them alone will the love of their country never be extinguished." For Newton, he had a profound esteem: "Never did man unite, like him, science with simplicity." "I sometimes pay a visit to Newton by night. While all nature seems to sleep, I sit up to read and admire him."

The document suppressing the Jesuits should be read by everyone who desires to understand why the methods and principles of the Roman Court, as represented by its most active and consistent agents, were suspected and feared by every Government, and by all moderate Romanists. The charges against the Society show what was tolerated, and even utilized for so long, by the Papacy. Clement proves himself to be an exception in the policy and line of the Roman Pontiffs, both by suppressing the Jesuits and by moderating the papal claims for the sake of peace with the civil governments. *Optimus Pontificum*, he might well be named. None of his accusations, it should be noted, were disproved or even challenged when the Society was revived in 1814.

As Mr. Taunton has pointed out: "The Jesuits

had had the education of Catholic Europe practically in their own hands in the seventeenth century; and it was precisely from the descendants of their pupils that there arose a revolt against a yoke which had become unbearable. What brought about the suppression of the Society brought also the Revolution."

Perhaps it might be truer to say that the serious tampering with morals, which the casuistry of the Jesuits allowed; their venal and tyrannical mis-use of power; their alliance with the ruling classes, and their pernicious influence upon them; as well as their opposition to reforms, and to every enlargement of intellectual, religious, or civic liberty, were all among the chief causes which led inevitably to revolution; and that the remedy of the Suppression was applied too late to be a cure for the diseases of a corrupt and perishing society.

CHAPTER XV.

The Revival of the Papacy, and the Infallibility of the Pope.

A STRANGE revival of mediævalism and papalism followed the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. It was caused partly by political reaction or fatigue after twenty-five years of revolutionary effort and excess. The Roman Pontificate was accepted as a symbol of order and stability, as the oldest representative of legitimate and absolute monarchy. The Congress of Vienna restored the Papal States. The Holy Alliance regarded the Popes as brother sovereigns and allies. These notions gave a new life and importance to the Papacy, which, throughout the eighteenth century, had sunk to the level of all the other corrupt and worn-out monarchies.*

On the other hand, after 1814, there was a growing sense of nationality, of democracy, of socialism. The spirit of the Revolution was fermenting and fructifying below the conservative and repressive surface. This movement, too, has been advantageous to the Papacy. The Curia, with its invariable adroitness, utilized the reverence of the kingly and imperial dynasties,

* Walpole's Letters, IV., 264 : Cunningham's edition.

for legitimacy and absolutism, to strengthen its own territorial position in Italy; as well as its administrative authority, over its adherents, in all other countries. It also utilized the growing democratic spirit, by posing as the friend of liberty, and the opponent of arbitrary power. The Vatican had one set of opinions and politics for the government of its own States, and another for its adherents in several foreign countries. It repressed liberalism in Rome, and nationalism throughout Italy. It fomented both in Poland, for example, or in Ireland. The result has been an immense growth of the papal authority and influence.

In England, all fear of the Romanists, as a political body, ceased after 1745. The Penal Statutes were not repealed, but they were not enforced. Their modification and repeal began to be urged systematically in Parliament. From the time of Walpole onwards, the governing and more enlightened classes would have been willing to grant a large measure of toleration to the Papists; but they were hampered by popular passion on one side, by Royal and middle class prejudices on the other. The passions of the mob flamed out in the Gordon Riots of 1780, which were a protest against the concessions to the Romanists gained by Sir George Savile in 1778. There was also an æsthetic movement of interest and sympathy towards the middle ages, which did a great deal to soften prejudice against the supposed representative of the mediæval Church. Gray and Horace Walpole were the pioneers of this movement in England. Sir Walter Scott did a great deal more to popularise and spread it. The social aspects of the middle ages were also attracting thinkers and

reformers: they were rousing an interest which soon passed on to imitation.

In all these movements there was more zeal than scholarship, more heat than light. They were carried on by men who saw the middle ages, not as they really were, either ecclesiastically, intellectually, or socially, but as they pictured them in a golden halo of chivalry and of romance. These yearnings for a larger and fuller life, which it was thought the middle ages could inspire or satisfy, popularised and spread a theoretical and very unhistorical Catholicism. The English Government helped the Pope, as an Italian sovereign, during the troubles of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The nation extended much kindness and hospitality to the fugitive clergy, and to other refugees from France. The English Romanists themselves had been governed for a long while by an Arch-priest, whose appointment the Jesuits opposed bitterly; whose person and office, when the appointment was made, they endeavoured to influence and utilize for their own advantage. The Arch-priests were succeeded by Vicars Apostolic; that is, by Bishops *in Partibus*, whose jurisdictions were known as districts instead of dioceses. Under their guidance, English Roman Catholic affairs went on quietly; and they were creditably represented in the spheres of learning and administration by Challoner, Milner, Alban Butler, Berington, and Lingard.

Emancipation was carried gradually under all these favourable influences, and it was completed by the passing of the Relief Bill in 1829. The value of that concession was diminished, because it was granted in the end to popular clamour and threats of violence. The wisdom

of it is even more questionable; because, as Nippold has observed, "Wellington's Tory ministry, in their desire to outdo the Whigs, carried the emancipation through in a manner which did not stop with satisfying the just demands of the times, but tore down bulwarks indispensable for the protection of the State." What he means is, that the Government, in granting Emancipation, made no terms with the papal authorities, exacted no pledges from them, obtained nothing in return, by way of patronage or veto, which gave them any control over those who exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction and guided the policy of the English Romanists.

With a native sect, this complete surrender would have been natural and harmless. In the case of a body which is controlled by a foreign power, which is moved ultimately by political and mundane agencies, this complete surrender was dangerous, and it has placed the Government at a serious disadvantage in negociating with the agents of the Vatican. The disadvantage has been more apparent since the establishment of a papal hierarchy in 1850. This foreign organization, as a body, and with respect to the Crown, is in a very different position from our national hierarchy in the middle ages. One body is not the successor of the other, and there is no comparison between them. In the middle ages, the Crown limited the Pope's jurisdiction, both as regards persons, patronage, legislation, and papal utterances. Now, there is no limit to the exercise of the Pope's authority. A violent and foolish outcry was made about the territorial designations of the new bishops, while the more dangerous and objectionable aspect of their new position was left unnoticed.

It would be against our principles of toleration to interfere with the spiritual functions and titles of the papal bishops. They are as indifferent in themselves, and should be as free, as those of all other dissenting ministers. Titles and honours, however, which are derived from the papal Court are on a different footing. It seems to be forgotten that the Crown is the sole fount of honour for English subjects; and they can not, legally, accept foreign titles without leave from their own sovereign. No mediæval bishop would have been allowed to accept or to use the dignity of the cardinalate without the leave and dispensation of the Crown. Cardinals, Monsignori, papal titles of nobility, have of themselves no rights of precedence and recognition within the dominions of the Crown. They are temporal decorations of the papal Court, and are clearly to be distinguished from the spiritual or ministerial functions and titles of the Roman Catholic Church.

When Emancipation was granted to the English Romanists, they were, as Newman says, with his incurable and deceptive rhetoric, "not a sect, not even an interest," "not a body," "but a mere handful of individuals." The Government, in its blindness, probably never contemplated the establishment of an Italian hierarchy, or the altered position of the Romanists through Irish immigration, and the vast growth of population. There had been some uneasiness about the claims and policy of the Roman Court; because the Irish bishops, before the granting of Emancipation, and with the assent of the papal Legate, declared officially that the theory of papal infallibility was not in accordance with the teaching and theology of

the Catholic Church. This episcopal declaration was made in 1828, to remove difficulties about Emancipation. Within fifty years, papal infallibility was defined, Catholic teaching and theology were defied, the Irish episcopate had to recant their opinion, and all the papal catechisms had to be re-edited. This change of front, so far as it is theological, only concerns the Romanists; but the political consequences of it affect the relations of the Papacy with every national episcopate, and with every civil Government.

Throughout the century of papal development and expansion, from the reign of Pius VII. until now, statesmen and Governments have shown a fatal and an inexcusable ignorance about the nature and principles of Romanism. They have been disunited, they have worked upon no system, they have adopted no common policy, in dealing with a centralized and yet universal power. They have been defeated, time after time, in detail; and the defeats or concessions of any one Government have been quoted as precedents, or used as the pretext for new demands, against all the others. In these unchanging and skilful tactics, "which count, not by years, but by decades and by centuries," all the advantage is with that organized and central administration, with its immense experience and its unswerving policy, which foresees everything, and never despises or neglects the smallest detail.

The power and influence of the Curia, its position in the world, its relation to all civil Governments, and to all the Christian Churches, including those which owe obedience to it, have been changed by the new doctrine of

papal infallibility. According to the Vatican decree, "the declarations of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not merely by the assent of the Church, absolute and irrevocable" (*irreformabiles*). In other words, the Pontiff, personally, is now superior to the Church in council. He stands outside and above it, separated from it: an external authority, who may dictate his own opinions to it and impose his own will upon it, but who need receive nothing from it.

General Councils are now both cumbersome and superfluous. The episcopate may add to the ritual and state with which a Pope can promulgate his definitions. It has no longer any necessary voice or function in deciding what the Roman faith has been, or should be. Thus the Papacy, in striving by devious methods for an external unity of organization, as a means of aggrandizing and concentrating its own power, has transformed the Roman Church into an ecclesiastical autocracy over which the Pope is theoretically supreme. The old warning of Gregory I. has come true. His successors have become universal Pontiffs, and in so doing they have practically annihilated the episcopate.

The chief agents in this revolution, in this *coup d Église*, have been the Jesuits. The organization and theology, which they fabricated and launched at Trent, has culminated quite logically, and even necessarily, in the decree of papal infallibility. The Jesuits, restored by Pius VII., and since then carrying everything before them, are held, rightly or wrongly, to be the influence behind the throne. They are supposed to direct that system and policy which they initiated and organized. They are suspected of dictating to the Curia, and of directing the Pope. The next

move in their political campaign is expected to be a definition of the Temporal Power as an article of faith.

The effects of the new belief in papal infallibility upon the Roman Church are chiefly of interest to Romanists themselves; though they cannot and should not be indifferent to any observers of theology and politics. Students of Church history may wonder, nevertheless, how the new beliefs and principles of the Ultramontane leaders are compatible with mediæval Romanism; how the procedure and beliefs of Constance, for example, can be reconciled with the Vatican decrees; how the decisions and actions of many Popes can be squared with these new theories of personal infallibility in the whole succession. To reconcile these new papal dogmas with the old principles, faith, procedure, and records of historical Catholicism is altogether impossible.

The effects of papal infallibility on politics, on the relations between Church and State, between the Curia and the Governments of the world, are very decidedly of supreme interest to all men. Many writers have urged that the new decree was nothing short of revolutionary; that the dormant and theoretical infallibility of a corporation scattered through the world, moderated in its action by complex and conflicting interests, which as a matter of experience met and spoke rarely, at long intervals, is quite a different thing from the active and effectual infallibility of a single person, who represents a centralized organisation in permanent existence. Such writers argue that the principles of Vaticanism, if pushed to their logical conclusion, are incompatible with civic

liberty and the rights of temporal governments. Moreover, as they go on to show, there is no guarantee that these principles may not at any time be so applied and pushed as to become a serious danger. History and experience all point to that danger as more than theoretical.

From these arguments, there have been many ingenious evasions. There has never been any reply which meets or disposes of the objections raised. The principles of Vaticanism are full of danger, and are liable to all these objections. The only element of safety and protection for the civil power is that the great majority of Papists, like the professors of all other theologies, are never prepared, at any one time, to carry out their principles consistently.

By the Vatican decree, all the activity and authority of the papal organization have become centralized in Rome, as they never were before. Even the Benedictine Order, which hitherto, throughout its long and honourable history, has been so liberal in its administration, so conservative and primitive in its traditions, so national in its government and spirit, is being attacked and changed by the craze for centralization and for the Italianization of everything in the papal Church. The activity of the papal propaganda among the various nations has probably never been so great, or in some directions so effective. The Press and the *Bourse* are both manipulated, to a dangerous extent, in the interests of the Curia.

In wealth and influence, the Papacy, at the opening of the twentieth century, is in a very different position from the Papacy at the opening of the nineteenth. Leo XIII. has realized many things which Leo XII. appears to have foreseen

and planned. The loss of the Temporal Power has been more than compensated by that growth of diplomatic influence and interference which has been caused by the acquisition of personal infallibility; but these gains are thought little of in themselves, by the Vatican and its agents, except as a means for winning back those territorial dominions upon which, as they think, the existence of the whole papal sovereignty and system ultimately depends.

The direct and melancholy influence of these temporal ambitions upon Italy, the indirect and disturbing effects of them upon other European countries, especially upon Austria and France, do not belong properly to our present subject; but they should be noted and examined by all those who wish to understand the Papacy. The mundane policy and interests of the Vatican have a decided influence upon its attitude towards the English Government and all our Imperial affairs. A world-wide Empire must come into contact with an organization which is scattered through the nations. The primary interests of those who rule that organization are secular, and not religious; and this conclusion, which is so amply confirmed by history, should never be forgotten by those who are dealing politically with Romanists and their concerns.

There is no more cruel and shameless imposture, in this world of delusions, than the claim to infallibility made by the Roman ecclesiastics. That claim is deduced, first, from the words which are reported to have been said to Peter; but, even granting the certainty and accuracy of the text itself, the words as we have them will not bear the papal interpretation. The claim to theological infallibility is deduced, next, from

the assertion that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against the Church.

As far as morality and righteousness are concerned, we can say that, on the whole and speaking generally, this promise has been fulfilled. Even in the darkest and the worst of times, the Church has professed officially to uphold, and some of her members have always borne witness to, the divine righteousness. No claim to theological infallibility can, however, be sustained by any truthful and competent enquirer, if he understand or deal honestly with the records of the past. This is true of the Church as a whole: it is far more true of the new and narrower claim to infallibility made by the Roman Pontiffs.

Neither theoretically in its origin, nor practically in its exercise, will the papal claim to infallibility bear investigation. The infallible Roman Church has no satisfying answer for the scriptural, or scientific, or social problems of modern thinkers. Far from resolving such problems, it increases and complicates them; because it imposes on its adherents and apologists all the weight of its own compromising and stultifying past. They are encumbered on one hand by the illimitable claims of Rome, and on the other by a melancholy record of blundering and crime. These are added to all the difficulties which are inherent in Christianity itself, as in every other systematic explanation of the supernatural, and of our relation to it.

If we may judge by the past, the infallible Papacy has not helped, but has hindered, and has often endangered, the progress of knowledge and of liberty. It has too often mis-used and injured the benefactors of mankind. Human

progress has been won in spite of the Papacy, not by means of it. In the sphere of politics, too, the Papacy has often proved itself a blind and a treacherous guide. In the matter of Elizabeth's excommunication and of the oath of allegiance to King James, it certainly betrayed and probably deceived, those who trusted it.

According to some of its modern apologists, the Papacy had no right to depose a sovereign, or to interfere with our succession ; yet it ordered its adherents to act as though it had those rights, and it left them to bear the consequences of acting. During the reigns of John and Henry III., of Mary I. and of James II., no Englishman can hold that the Papacy was on the right side, or that its principles and policy would have been advantageous to the country, or even to religion. There is no reason to suppose that the Popes are likely to be sounder and surer guides with respect to modern politics. The Papacy has not been less mistaken in the regions of Church history and theology.

As far as results and practice are concerned, the Papacy can hardly claim, in the face of history, to have been a leader in morals : and when it proclaims its omniscience in the regions of the unseen and the unknown, we may well doubt its competency if we judge it by those matters in which we have experience.

The papal claims and office, moreover, are not found in Christianity from the beginning. We can point to an age when they did not exist ; to a polity and a theology which both exclude them. They rose gradually. We can show at every stage the causes and progress of their acceptance. "*Le monde se paye de paroles*," as Pascal writes : "The world cheats

itself with phrases ;" and it has allowed itself to be disturbed and cheated for about eight centuries by these claimants to theological infallibility. As we read the disputes and controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the positions and arguments of the ecclesiastical disputants appeal to us no longer. They are equally vain and inconclusive on both sides. We cannot accept their notions of the universe, their valuation of documents, their attitude towards authority, their use of evidence, or their standards of knowledge. In all these matters, we have moved entirely out of their plane.

Neither papal, nor puritan, nor Calvinistic arguments, as they were used in those days of controversy, can weigh with us, who must accept modern standards of knowledge, who are influenced by critical and scientific methods, who have inherited that historical spirit which alone enables us to reconstruct and comprehend the past. Theologians and their systems must submit to these tests, or they will perish. They will no longer be taken by the world at their own valuation ; and, the higher their claims, the more rigorously will their history, their principles, and their practice be examined.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Principles of the Modern Papacy Unchanged.

IT may be thought by non-Romanists, and it is often asserted by the agents of the Vatican, that the methods and principles of the Papacy have changed ; that the papal claims are not what they were. There has, indeed, been a change, but it is all in the direction of absolutism and retrogression. The claims of Rome have not diminished, but increased, and the decree of papal infallibility has made them far more dangerous and effective than they were before. It is true, that public opinion is, at present, against the methods and procedure of the Inquisition, and active intolerance is not allowed. The temper, however, which allows and approves those methods is encouraged in many Roman Catholic nations by a scurrilous and influential press. We are not in danger, as yet, from persecution or repression ; but, in some countries, non-Romanists are liable to outbreaks of hostility and fanaticism ; and the opponents of the Papacy are subjected, wherever the clerical press is flourishing, to the most wanton and scandalous accusations.

Individual Romanists, here and there, may profess Liberalism and toleration ; but these are merely individual opinions. They must always

be balanced against individual opinions of the opposite kind, which are also professed by many Romanists, and inspire too many organs in the clerical press. These Liberal opinions are often served up for the benefit of non-Romanists, especially in England and America. Those who profess them, even when they are bishops, may be personally quite honest; but their personal opinions are also quite worthless. They bind no one but the individual writer or speaker; and he may be forced at any time to withdraw his words and sympathies, as Archbishop Ireland was forced. As Hergenrother says: "The Church doth not on principle renounce rights which she has once exercised, and whose exercise might become necessary again."

When the *Bullarium Romanum* is expurgated and re-edited; when the extravagant claims of such Popes as Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII., are repudiated officially; when the blasphemous epithets which have been applied to them are withdrawn and condemned; when their acts are denounced, and are proved in detail to have been unlawful; when all that intolerant and virulent language is removed, which circulates at present in the Moral Theologies, and in other text books which are used to educate the clergy; when all this is done by the highest authority, that is, by Roman Congregations speaking officially, then, and not until then, can we believe that the Curia has changed its principles and methods. Until this happen, we can only think, unless we wish to be deceived, that the Papacy is lying low, and is concealing its true designs, and is merely waiting for its chance to speak openly, and to act up to its

opinions. We have seen instances of that policy in the conflict with Elizabeth.

The principles of the modern Papacy are, surely, exhibited in the Syllabus of 1864, so far as its attitude to modern thought and institutions is concerned. The Roman Court has not, fortunately, the power to carry its principles into practice; but there can be no doubt, from its official utterances, what its principles and predilections are. It is opposed to toleration, to liberty of conscience, to free enquiry, to the rights of individuals and of minorities, to the equality of all religions under the protection of the State. All these things are condemned as pernicious errors. Force is advocated and justified as a remedy against theological differences. The model State, according to the Vatican, is one in which the ecclesiastical authority is so predominant that the civil power must carry out its orders against all dissentients. These principles lead, necessarily, to an Inquisition; to the polity and procedure which have resulted invariably when such principles have been accepted.

These principles are not only adhered to, they have not only been expressed clearly in official utterances by the reigning Pope and his predecessor, but, so far as is practicable, they are still acted upon. They are acted upon, for example, by the publication of an Index of prohibited books. If the principle of an Index be sound and justifiable, it should be enforced by the ecclesiastical authorities, and welcomed by those who accept their guidance. If it be unsound and really anti-Christian, it is an abominable tyranny, and a crime against our human intellect and progress. Yet there are Roman apologists who will not accept frankly

and fully either one alternative or the other. They are really afraid of their own principles, and are equally afraid to renounce them.

An authority which claims to be infallible cannot have the right to play with edged tools in this way; asserting, merely according to its own convenience, or to its audience, sometimes that they are effective and obligatory, sometimes that they are obsolete. Such methods and such weapons must be fatal, either to the authority itself, or to those who trust in it. It was this unscrupulous policy which was responsible, as I have pointed out, for all the executions of Romanists under Queen Elizabeth.

A similar method is used, notwithstanding a great parade of impartiality and of historical research, in describing the relations of England to the Papacy since the Reformation. The violences and the aggressive acts of the Papacy, its alliances with foreign enemies or domestic rebels, and its repressive policy abroad wherever it was in power, are all ignored, and the whole weight of the so-called historian is laid upon the sufferings and the blameless lives of the English Romanists. The result is a false and very deceptive presentation of history, which in the end must defeat its own object, and injure its own cause.

More and more, it is probable, as the historical spirit grows, as historical methods are pursued and the scientific mind is acquired, men will desire to know impartially what really happened. They will be dissatisfied with partizan histories of events and institutions. The popular conception of the Papacy must be affected by these causes. The Papacy will be judged by history, instead of judging it: it will no longer

be accepted blindly at its own valuation by apologists and partizans; nor will it be misjudged by ignorant, blatant, and prejudiced opponents.

The Jesuit historians and apologists have still much to learn about the methods of historical research and statement. Mr. Taunton has to complain, in his excellent "History of the Jesuits in England," of Brother Foley's unfair and deceptive handling of documents. "Foley's eight volumes of *Records* cannot be taken as a history of the body to which he belonged. They are only a collection or, rather, selection of documents. Foley's value consists almost as much in his omissions as in his admissions. And I am bound to remark that I have found him, at a critical point, quietly leaving out, without any signs of omission, an essential part of a document which was adverse to his case. His volumes of *Records* cannot, I regret to have to say it openly, be taken as trustworthy, unless corroborated by more scrupulous writers."

Mr. Taunton's experience must be shared by all enquirers who search the original documents for themselves, instead of trusting printed authorities. To such enquirers, the "value" of partizan writers like Foley is apparent and suggestive; but such practices grievously mislead the unsuspecting general reader, who cannot investigate for himself, but who has as much right as the professional historian to know the truth. Besides direct and deliberate violations of historical truth, there is still to be found in the prefaces to some Church histories a commendation of scientific methods and impartial scholarship, while in the body of such works all these principles are flagrantly and systemati-

cally violated. These principles and practices are not a monopoly of the papal controversialists.

However, the Jesuit apologists are open to a more serious charge with respect to honesty and truth. They have sanctioned and adopted a system of casuistry, of mental reservation, of manipulating words and phrases, which strikes at all the laws of evidence and honour, which destroys all confidence in human words, and conduct, and motives. These principles must be allowed for, and guarded against, in all Jesuit controversialists, by those who do not wish to be deceived and tricked. No quotation of theirs should ever be accepted unless it be verified, and be found in agreement with the context. No assertion or denial should ever be trusted, unless it can be supported by external and independent evidence.

Jesuit controversialists have themselves to thank for the distrust with which they are regarded. When their current principles of casuistry are officially repudiated, exposed, and condemned by the papal authorities, then their assertions may be accepted, like those of all other authors. At present, they cannot have the right to these principles and also the right to be believed. They must choose between the two. They cannot have the advantage of casuistry, and of implicit confidence. Those who allow such principles, even in theory, must not have that same right to be believed which is conceded without suspicion or reserve to those who repudiate casuistry and equivocation in all its forms.

A similar argument applies to all the diplomatic utterances and engagements of the Papacy and its representatives. Both historical ex-

perience and the accepted principles of casuistry must lead us to suspect the statements of papal officials and partizans. It is asserted bravely, no doubt, in theological manuals and catechisms, that to lie is a mortal sin, and that lying is never permissible even to serve the Church; but the casuists prove easily that hardly any manipulation of the truth need technically be a lie. The principles and precepts which guided Parsons are still accepted, on the whole, by his successors. His practices are not obsolete among them. The old controversial methods of suppressing or manipulating what is true, of suggesting and insinuating what is false, of blackening the motives and character of opponents whose case is unassailable by argument, are still to be found among papal controversialists.

Our long enquiry has shown, I think, that our English nature and institutions are irreconcilable with the papal system, and that they always have been. The enmity between England and Rome is not merely theological. It is caused by a deep repugnance of nature, and by principles which cannot be accommodated to one another, or held consistently and simultaneously by the same person. This repugnance is found through all our history. The incompatibility between Roman and English principles, between the Papacy and freedom, is as strong as ever, though the hostility may be less violent and obtrusive. It will, however, flame out again at any time, and upon the slightest provocation.

Theology is only the commonest, and perhaps not the deepest, cause of these conflagrations. As we examine the past, we find the Papacy, at every stage of our progress, in conflict with our

liberties and the whole spirit of our institutions. It was allied with the Norman conqueror; and we may resent the alliance, although the Conquest proved itself a blessing in disguise. The Pope supported John, and Henry III., and Mary Tudor, and Charles I., and James II. He opposed Henry II., and the Reformation, and Queen Elizabeth, and Cromwell, and William III. That is to say, he supported every cause and person which has been opposed to the growth and development of our Constitution, or of our greatness. He has opposed every cause and principle which we regard as having helped us to be what we are.

The Papacy and the English spirit are incompatibles; because the Italian Curia has never understood and has always mistrusted our free institutions. "Liberty to Latins means licence. It never enters into their mind that the best remedy for the abuse of Liberty is more Liberty, which brings more responsibility. But the idea of the Society was to reduce, by obedience, the individual to nothing. Thus Liberty is especially antagonistic to Jesuit ideas."* The Jesuit system and the Jesuit notions have been imposed upon the government and theology of the whole papal Church. That Church now, therefore, more than ever, is incompatible with our English nature, spirit, and institutions. In proportion as a man accepts one theory of life and thought, he must be out of sympathy with the other. The two systems cannot be accepted fully and loyally by the same person. There must be, as there has always been, a conflict.

By the terms "Rome" and "Roman Church,"

* Taunton: "Jesuits in England."

I mean exclusively the local Church or Court of Rome, the Curia. I do not mean the peoples who make up the various national Churches in communion with Rome. These peoples, and even their hierarchies, have been the dupes and victims rather than the accomplices of the Roman See, both in the past and in the present. The personal goodness and devotion, the innocence, and the genuine piety, of too many individuals and nations are being utilized by the dominant faction for its own political aggrandisement. When it is suspected or accused of political aggression, it invariably points to the blameless and pious lives of individuals; who, in truth, have nothing to do with politics and plotting, but whose piety is utilized for their own ends by those who have.

The Roman Curia is chiefly a political and financial organization, which disguises its real purposes under pious and theological expressions. Outsiders, as well as many devout Romanists, are deceived by the pious locutions of the Pope, not knowing or forgetting that they are merely the conventional or diplomatic apparatus of the Holy See; and that, of old time, the most tortuous plans were disguised, the most ferocious edicts were garnished, for the sake of appearances, with these unctuous and hollow phrases.

We should have no quarrel with individual Romanists, we need feel no bitterness towards them. We should always distinguish between the great body of Roman Catholics, scattered through the world, and that official, mundane organization which rules them from the centre. With the latter, no terms of any sort are possible. It gives no quarter, and it deserves none. It

keeps no engagements, and it is unworthy of all trust. It is merely a political and financial organization, masquerading as a Church, exploiting the faith and goodness of its dupes. Its tortuous methods, its ambitious aims, its tyrannical and repressive notions, its arbitrary Congregations and their secret procedure, are all equally abhorrent to our English methods, principles, and nature. As long as the spirit, methods, principles and institutions of England and of the papal Curia remain unchanged, they will be as irreconcilable with one another in the future as they have always been in the past. The principles of the Curia, like the declarations of the Pontiffs, are to all appearance "*irreformabiles*," "incapable of reform."

These conclusions, it would appear, are being forced more and more upon English Romanists. Many events abroad, and the violent hostility of the continental Press, among which the clerical organs have been most outrageous in their Anglophobia, have made the more thoughtful of the English Roman Catholics uneasy and suspicious. Our examination enables us to distinguish clearly between the principles of the Vatican, and the religious beliefs of those among us who accept the Pope's ecclesiastical authority. We may believe that the Vatican is opposed to our English principles and institutions without accusing the English Romanists, either as a body or individually, of disloyalty and want of patriotism. Their loyalty has been proved abundantly in the past. It has been proof against suffering and ill-usage. Their heroism has been magnificent, in holding to that which they have believed to be religious truth. Very few of them, it is probable, read the continental

Press, or know what the methods and policy of the Curia really are. Still fewer have any competent knowledge of Church history and theology ; and the history of England has never been presented to them in an impartial way. These defects are being slowly though surely modified by scientific methods of thinking, and by the application of the same standards of knowledge to all who pass through public examinations.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Effects and Future of the Papacy.

IT would be untrue and unfair to hold that the Papacy has been altogether bad. The traditions of Roman law and administration were preserved in the old metropolis, and they were the cause of immense good to the barbarian conquerors. The Papacy, as representing law and order, did a great work in the evolution of a new society. The Benedictine missionaries, and Popes like Gregory the First, spread civilization and education throughout Europe. The Church affected every sphere of intellectual and social progress. The Popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries no doubt furthered the cause of moral reform and of spiritual improvement; but their success, and the position they gained, brought on the moral and political ruin of the Papacy. The feudal organization and the immoderate claims of Gregory VII. led on directly to conflicts with the civil power, to clerical immunities, to the ambitions of Innocent III., to all the blasphemous attributes and pretentions of Boniface VIII.

The papal supremacy in England, between 1170 and 1535, was a period of aggression, of extortion, of danger to the State, and of corruption in faith and morals. The diplomacy of the Curia was a by-word for chicanery and

fraud. It sold, delayed, and denied justice. It trafficked openly in sacred things. The Popes, by their claim to absolve from oaths, that is, to release one party to an engagement secretly, behind the back of the other, destroyed the foundations of political confidence and of public faith.

The Papacy might have been a cause of incalculable good: it was, in fact, a cause of deplorable mischief and disturbance. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was the chief obstacle to Reform. In the sixteenth century, it caused all the worst mediæval errors to be reaffirmed and systematized. Since then, it has been the insuperable barrier to a reunion of Christendom. As long as the Curia be governed by the present methods, and the papal claims be asserted with their present extravagance, there can be no reunion by means of the Papacy, without a betrayal of all that is most worth having both in Christianity and in civic life. Moreover, the Papacy is, in one important aspect, a most uncatholic and narrow institution. Since the Reformation, only Italians have been Popes; and the higher administration of the papal Church has been entirely in the hands, or under the interference, of that race. Nationality is always vilified by the papal advocates as anti-catholic; but what institutions can be described as more jealously exclusive and provincial than the Papacy itself, and the whole government service of the Curia?

The papal question, however, cannot be regarded as a petty or a sectarian dispute. It is a matter of high principle, and of truth: a test, it may even be, between Christ and Anti-Christ. Newman tells us that, although the base of St.

Peter's Rock may be poisonous with malaria, and vexed with storms, yet the air on the summit is ever serene and pure: this was his opinion, in print, though his talk and his manuscripts were not so complimentary. It is not the conclusion forced upon impartial students of the Papacy, from the tenth century to the eighteenth. With regard to the existing Papacy, Manning's "Life" scarcely demonstrates to us that the atmosphere of the Vatican is pure and peaceful; that it is free from guile and plotting; that the papal Curia is governed by the maxims and methods of the New Testament. If the Pope be really the Head of such an organization as Manning describes, then he and his system should be rejected and condemned together by all those who value Christianity. If the Pope be merely a Figurehead, he is very much to be commiserated, and is not worth considering. He cannot, on either supposition, be helpful to the higher and more permanent interests of Christianity.

Papalism, surely, is but an episode, in the long development of our Christian progress. It is not a permanent or a necessary factor. The Christianity of the future appears likely to be more social than political or theological; and, if so, all the existing schemes of Church organization will be altered, or may even disappear. There will be no place in them for any claimant to theological infallibility and autocratic power. All such claims will be destroyed by the historical spirit, by scientific methods of life and thought, by the fuller establishment of intelligence, of equality, of liberty, of practical and primitive Christianity.

However these things may be, we can be sure

that the papal Curia, as it exists at present, and the whole Anglo-Saxon world will find themselves to be as incompatible with one another as England and Rome have shown themselves through all the heroic and tortuous conflicts between them in the past. "England," as Mr. Taunton says in his admirable book on Wolsey, "has always been a puzzle to Rome:" and, ever since the eleventh century, Rome has been a scandal, a hindrance, and a danger to the English People.

Our attitude towards the Papacy has been decided for us by a long course of events, of which this volume has been designed to summarize the history. The past cannot be unmade; and our English attitude towards the Roman Court is not likely to be altered in the future. Our Anglo-Celtic brethren, in Australasia and in the United States, will probably find more and more, as our forefathers did, that the domination of Rome is a cause of perpetual friction, and a hindrance to their progress in civil and intellectual freedom. If we may judge by the past, it is inconceivable that these democratic and intensely national members of the Celtic family, living, as they are compelled, in the full tide of human progress, enjoying all and more than all that our predecessors gained for us, will allow their ecclesiastical affairs to be manipulated for ever by the scheming officials and nominees of a retrograde Italian Oligarchy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Present Position of Roman Catholics in the British Empire.

THE future of the Papacy lies, as the *Odyssey* has it, "on the knees of the gods." The tendency of mankind to be deceived appears to be illimitable; but the whole tendency of the future appears, also, to be slowly, though surely, setting away from the Papacy, as we have known it in the past, and see it in the present. The New Learning was quenched, to a very large extent, within the papal organization, during the sixteenth century. The mediæval theology was re-established and even strengthened by the Council of Trent. Historical and theological documents were tampered with, in the interests of the ecclesiastical authorities. By these means, the papal claims were reasserted, and the question of their true origin and foundation was deferred. This question, however, is now before the world again; and the answer cannot be evaded as it was in the past. Our historical spirit, our scientific temperament, our critical and rigorous methods of enquiry, our knowledge about the growth of institutions, our discoveries about the evolution and the comparative history of religions, must all tell in the end upon Christianity. The gold in it will be separated from the dross. It will emerge from the

crucible stronger and purer than before ; but the traditional Papacy, that mediæval, feudal, semi-pagan, wholly mundane organization, manipulated at present by the Jesuits, with its claims to universal domination and theological infallibility, must assuredly be purged away. If the Founder of Christianity had provided the world with an infallible guide in faith and morals, it is incredible that that guide should have the record, and should produce those results, which the Papacy has invariably shown. These records and results condemn the Papacy, and are a sufficient refutation of the papal claims and theories. We may wait with confidence for the inevitable verdict of the future.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of Englishmen to remember the origin of this institution, its nature and its methods in the past, as well as the history of its relations to our country, and its invariable policy towards our forefathers : remembering, too, that the principles of the Roman Curia are unchanged, that its organization is more centralized and dangerous than ever, that its true policy and aims are rather dissembled than reformed. It is still, and always must be, the uncompromising foe of our nature and institutions.

But it is our duty, also, and a much pleasanter one, to distinguish in the present, as well as in the past, between the rulers of the Vatican and the great body of English Roman Catholics. Our fellow subjects, who are Roman Catholics, are on the whole distinguished, as their forefathers were, for devotion to their country. In these days, that devotion is thoroughly well earned ; because the Romanists are not so free under any other government as they are through-

out the British Empire. Our complete justice and toleration do not secure the gratitude of the papal authority, because they are contrary to the principles and spirit of the Curia; but they have secured the loyalty and attachment of the English Romanists. The memories of ancient hostility are dying out among them. The privileges they enjoy, the atmosphere in which they live, their fuller mingling with the large world of English life and thought, have made the present generation of English Roman Catholics very different from their immediate predecessors. In proportion to their numbers, they rank high for distinguished and useful service to the State. As they have thus broken down the old barriers which once existed between themselves and their fellow-countrymen, so we, in our turn, should break down any barriers of theological or social prejudice which may still remain between ourselves and them. That is the most certain way to minimise the influence of the Vatican.

There are many questions, no doubt, in which the great majority of Englishmen cannot agree with the Romanists theologically; but the number of questions in which we can agree with them and work with them, socially, politically, philanthropically, are continually increasing.

There are many questions, too, in which we have much to learn from the English Romanists. Their organization, their loyalty to their leaders, their efforts and sacrifices in the cause of charity and education, are deserving of the highest praise, and may put most other religious bodies to shame. The Jews and the Quakers alone, perhaps, surpass the Romanists in the extent of their charity, and in the personal care bestowed upon the recipients of it.

The education of the Roman clergy in England leaves very much to be desired, both as to the nature and standards of their learning, and their attitude towards the State as citizens. But, as in other countries, so also in England, the seminaries cannot be cut off wholly from modern thought. Modern theories, modern methods, the historical and scientific spirit, are all touching the papal theology, as well as the opinions of every other Church. Whatever else may be the result of this process, it must dissolve and undermine the foundations of the papal monarchy. History and the Papacy are incompatibles. The scientific spirit and clericalism cannot subsist together. English principles of liberty and autocratic methods of Church government cannot be combined; and the future appears, on the whole, more likely to favour our principles than those of the Papacy. In the past, victory has certainly been with the English People, and against their ancient foe. We gained our civil, intellectual and religious liberty in spite of him. The future also will be with the English People, as against the forces represented by the Vatican, so long as we are true to ourselves and to the traditions of our heroic past. This is the experience and the legacy which we must hand on to our descendants here, and to the larger communities of our kinsmen beyond the seas.

Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.

Imperial Protestant Federation.

CONSTITUTION.

OBJECTS.

1. To federate Evangelical Protestant Churches and Societies within the British Empire, for the purpose of facilitating fraternal intercourse and co-operation between them.

2. To strengthen the federated organizations, and to defend their rights.

3. To promote the formation of branches of the federated organizations, and to unite such branches in District Federations.

4. To ascertain the opinions and desires of the federated organizations, and to determine how best to carry them out.

5. To render financial aid to any federated organization which is in urgent need of funds.

6. To publish tracts, books, and newspapers; and to make free grants of literature to the federated organisations.

7. To oppose all attempts to:—
   - (*a*) Alter the Coronation Oath and the Declaration against Transubstantiation.
   - (*b*) Open the Throne of England to a Romanist.
   - (*c*) Repeal the Bill of Rights or the Act of Settlement.
   - (*d*) Throw open the offices of Lord High Chancellor of England and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to Roman Catholics.
   - (*e*) Grant State aid of any description for the furtherance of Romish or Ritualistic objects.
   - (*f*) Give any increased powers—political or otherwise—to the Church of Rome.
   - (*g*) Open diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

8. To labour for the:—
   - (*a*) Suppression of Romanism in the Church of England.
   - (*b*) Exclusion of the Jesuit Order from the British Empire.
   - (*c*) Periodical inspection by Government officials of all convents and monastic institutions, and the liberation of such of their inmates as are forcibly detained therein.
   - (*d*) Return of Protestant members to the British House of Commons and the Colonial Legislatures, to County Councils, Vestries, Boards of Guardians and School Boards.

9. To take any action required for the protection or advancement of Protestant interests, provided such action is sanctioned by the Imperial Council.

LIMITATIONS.

10. The Federation shall not act independently as a separate society.

11. It shall not seek to represent individual opinion.

12. Donors and subscribers shall not be represented upon the Imperial Council; and they shall not participate in the management of the Federation.

13. No attempt shall be made to destroy, injure, or weaken the individuality of the federated organizations.

14. The federated organizations shall not be required to guarantee the income of the Federation.

BASIS.

15. The Federation shall be composed only of those organizations which:—

(*a*) Accept the Bible as the Word of God, and as the one, only, and all-sufficient Rule of Faith.

(*b*) Accept the doctrine of the Trinity, that there are three Persons—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—in the one Godhead.

(*c*) Accept the doctrine of the Incarnation, that God the Son took upon Him the nature of man, so that He is perfect God and perfect man.

(*d*) Accept the doctrine of justification by faith only, through the merit and sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; and not for our own works or deservings.

(*e*) Believe that the offering of Christ, once-for-all offered upon the Cross, was a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for sin; and can never be continued, repeated, nor re-presented.

(*f*) Believe that regeneration, or the new birth, is the work of God the Holy Ghost, and not dependent on any ordinance or human agency.

IMPERIAL COUNCIL.

16. The Imperial Council shall consist of two representatives annually appointed by each independent federated organization, one representative annually appointed by each District Federation, and one representative annually appointed by each Colonial Federation.

17. The Imperial Council shall have power to give increased representation to any organization which, in its opinion, is entitled to a greater influence in the management of the Federation; provided always that the total number of representatives appointed by any organization shall not exceed four, and that any proposal to give increased representation to an organization shall be approved by at least two-thirds of the members present at the meeting of the Imperial Council at which it is brought forward.

18. The Imperial Council shall meet not less than once a month, excepting during the months of August and September.

19. It shall be responsible for maintaining the Federation in working order; shall carry out its objects; and shall exercise supreme control over its affairs.

20. It may be specially convened at any time:—
(*a*) By the Chairman of the Imperial Council.
(*b*) On the requisition in writing of not less than three of the federated organizations.

21. The non-representative members (not exceeding twenty) elected before the adoption of this Constitution shall retain their seats upon the Imperial Council; but no similar appointments shall be made in the future, and as vacancies occur they shall not be filled.

COMMITTEES.

22. The Imperial Council may appoint Committees when necessary, and may entrust to them such duties and powers as it considers advisable.

CHAIRMAN.

23. The Chairman of the Imperial Council shall be appointed by the Imperial Council.

DISTRICT FEDERATIONS.

24. District Federations may be formed in the Metropolis, and in cities, towns, and Parliamentary divisions; and they shall consist of independent Protestant societies, branches of societies, and congregations.

25. The Committee of each District Federation shall consist of two representatives annually appointed by each federated organization.

26. Each District Federation shall annually appoint one representative to attend the meetings of the Imperial Council.

27. The District Federations shall adhere to the Constitution of the Imperial Protestant Federation, and they shall locally carry out its objects.

COLONIAL FEDERATIONS.

28. Efforts shall be made to form in each British Colony a Federation of Evangelical Protestant Churches and Societies.

29. The Grand Council of each Colonial Federation shall consist of two representatives annually appointed by each independent federated organization, and one representative annually appointed by each District Federation.

30. Each Colonial Federation shall, if possible, annually appoint a representative to attend the meetings of the Imperial Council; and it shall appoint a Corresponding Secretary, who shall keep in constant communication with the London office.

31. The Colonial Federations shall adhere to the Constitution of the Imperial Protestant Federation, and they shall locally carry out its objects.

32. The Colonial Federations shall promote the formation of District Federations within their spheres of influence.

PRESIDENT.

33. The Imperial Council shall annually appoint a President, who shall subscribe not less than ten guineas per annum.

34. The post of Chairman of the Imperial Council may be held by the President, provided he is appointed thereto by two-thirds of the members present at a meeting of the Imperial Council.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

35. The Imperial Council may appoint Vice-Presidents, who shall each subscribe not less than three guineas per annum; and it may also appoint Hon. Vice-Presidents.

36. The Vice-Presidents shall not participate in the management of the Federation.

FINANCE.

37. Each federated organization represented upon the Imperial Council shall subscribe not less than one guinea per annum.

38. The Imperial Council shall have power, when necessary, to give representation to organizations without payment of an annual subscription.

39 Each society, branch of a society, and congregation, shall subscribe not less than five shillings per annum to the District Federation upon which it is represented.

40. The Committees of the District Federations shall have power, when necessary, to give representation to societies, branches of societies, and congregations, without payment of an annual subscription.

41. Each federated Colonial organization shall subscribe not less than one guinea (or its equivalent in Colonial coinage) per annum to the Federation upon which it is represented.

42. Colonial Federations shall have power, when necessary, to give representation to organizations without payment of an annual subscription.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

43. Any amendment of this Constitution must be made either on the motion of the Imperial Council, or on the motion of one of the federated organizations.

44. Notice of any Constitutional amendment by a federated organization must be given to the Secretary of the Federation at least thirty days before the meeting of the Imperial Council.

45. All proposed Constitutional amendments must be sent to each federated organization at least fourteen days before the meeting of the Imperial Council.

46. Constitutional amendments shall not be adopted unless they are approved by at least two-thirds of the members present at the meeting of the Imperial Council at which they are brought forward.

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He then draws out carefully and at length, the teaching of the New Testament respecting these two things, and also the analogy that exists between "birth" physical and "birth" spiritual. The proper places of Baptism of Water, of Baptism of the Spirit, and of Confirmation, are then demonstrated from the New Testament, and John III. 3-8 has a chapter all to itself. In conclusion, the author thinks it high time, now that there is such a hankering after the many-century-ago exploded errors of Sacerdotalism, for those who really care for the Truth of God in Revelation respecting the Sacraments, to strive after a more clear perception and grasp of it than has hitherto prevailed.

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